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FINAL REPORT

AUTHORS: H.H. Potter
D.G. Hill

TITLE: Negro Settlement in Canada,
1628-1965: a survey.

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Errata

Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628-1965: A Survey

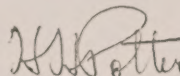
H. H. Potter and D. G. Hill

April 1966

Title page D. H. Hill should read D. G. Hill

- page 11 13th line: "astounding".
- 12 4th line. Paragraph should begin "He was the first...."
- 12 4th new para. Close quote after "artist".
- 12 5th " " " " " "piano!"
- 13 2d to last line: "contributions".
- 14 delete last line, "I would assume that...."
- 15 ftnt # 2, underline "ibid".
- 31 2d line of last para: "deported instead of"deported".
- 31 3d to last line: & sign missing.
- 41 last line of 3d para: "town"
- 42 ftnt 1. A full stop should appear after the word "History".
The following word, "Toronto", should not be underlined.
- 45 ftnt # 1. The words after the author's name should be deleted
and the abbreviation op. cit., p. 8 used instead.
- 47 ftnt # 2. The words "University of Toronto" should not be
underlined.
- 48 end of first para: "led", not "let".
- 50 ftnt nos. 3, 4, 5 should have the abbreviation ibid, underlined
and followed by a comma.
- 52 ftnt #1. The abbreviation op. cit. should be deleted.
- 54 ftnt # 2 should be rewritten as follows:
2Grant MacEwan, "Frontier Doctor, Alfred Schmit Shadd", in the
family records of P. Shadd, Buxton, Ontario. See also The
Western Producer, Saskatchewan, Nov. 14, 1957.
- 55 The first sentence, "earlier in others", should be deleted;
and in the second sentence the words "his father Dr. A." also
should be deleted. In their place the initial W. should appear.
(W. R. Abbott, who fled Virginia.....)
- 55 3d line from the bottom. "New Provident" should read "New Providence".
- 56 2d para. from bottom: communities.
- 59 Last two lines of first para. Two words to be corrected: ... lost
some of their personnel whenever they visited Toronto..
- 59 2d line of third paragraph: comma to be inserted after "Canadian Negro".
- 62 4th line from top: Hornets Athletic Club.
- 61 2d line in first new para. Spelling: geographic area.
- 63 ftnt # 1 should read: Refer to page 58 of this paper.
- 65 ftnt # 1 should read: Hill, op. cit., pp. 138-140.
- 66 2d line from top. Spelling: church has.
- 66 5th line of second new para. Spelling: numerous.
- 67 ftnt # 1 should read: Hill, op. cit., p. 117.

page 76 5th line of 2d para. Spelling: combating.
77 ftnt # 1 should be changed to read as follows:
Rudolph A. Helling, The Position of Negroes,
Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor,
Ontario. A report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights
Commission, December 1965. p. 15.
79 ftnt # 1. The abbreviation op. cit. should be deleted.
ftnt # 2 should read as follows: Helling, op. cit., p. 15.
80 ftnt # 2. The abbrev. op. cit. should be deleted.
83 1st line of first para. There should be no comma after the name
Gibbs.
85 last line of ftnt. Spelling: pilots.
90 6th line of first new para. Spelling: laundries.
94 3d line from the top. Spelling: was no tip.
98 4th line from bottom. Spelling: wherever.
99 3d line from top. Spelling: organization's
101 3d para from bottom. The word "prohibiting" should not be
capitalized.
101 last para. Spelling: occupancy
103 ftnt # 1, third line: underline "Ibid".



H. H. Potter

7th October 1966

c.c. K. D. McR. (2)
D. G. H.
H. H. P.



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NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1628 - 1965: A SURVEY

Report presented to the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

H. H. Potter
D. H. Hill
April 1966.

REPORT A-2551 - 2551, ADAMANT BY UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Report presented to the Royal Commission on



W. H. P. P. P.
W. H. P. P. P.
W. H. P. P. P.

Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628- 1965: A Survey

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Introduction

This paper outlines the history of Negro settlement in different parts of Canada since the early part of the seventeenth century, including brief accounts of the relations between various Negro populations and their host communities, and including descriptions of the occupational careers of three successful men of the present day.

The 1961 Census of Canada reported a total Negro population of a little more than 32,000, which compares with reported totals of about 18,000 in 1951 and about 22,000 in 1941. Canadians of all origins number nearly 20 millions today.

Since some coloured people do not acknowledge that they are "Negroes", it is possible that there are a few thousands more "Negroes" than get reported in official census returns. They may be reported as Jews, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Englishmen, Canadians and so on. This paper deals only with people who acknowledge that they are Negroes, whatever may be their appearance or antecedents, and however they or anybody else may define the term. We are dealing with people of varied ancestry who differ greatly from each other in appearance, social class position, religious practices, cultural background, occupation, income and racial and political attitudes. The difference between this fact and popular images of Negroes as a class we leave to other students of the subject for analysis and discussion, although we hope that the record which follows will be found useful by those who are interested in the social history of Canada.

Our paper begins with the occupational histories of three men arbitrarily chosen by us from among scores of coloured men and women who enjoy better than average social and economic success in this country. They were chosen because they are persons of professional importance and great reputation inside and outside Canada. One is a research scientist, 63 years old and Chairman of the Department of Pharmacology at McGill University. The second is an avionics engineer whose age is about forty. The third is a professional jazz pianist a little over forty years of age.



Successful Careers

Case No. 1. A Research Scientist

Dr. Kenneth I. Melville came to Montreal in 1920 at the age of eighteen. A Jamaican, he started medical studies at McGill University. At that time a Bachelor's degree was not required before admission to medical school. In his second year of studies he saw "lots of problems in medicine" and decided to do research on some of them in his spare time.

Just then the University established a new degree, Bachelor of Science (Medicine), which could be obtained at the same time as the Medicinae Doctor degree if the student had taken certain prescribed science courses. Only four students enrolled in the program when it was inaugurated, and Melville was the only one of the four who persisted to the program's end.

Since then, to the date of our interview, this distinguished man has published or presented 126 learned papers and articles, plus a technical report and chapters in six textbooks. Ninety-six of the learned papers and articles were presented in collaboration with others. In addition to these accomplishments he has attended ten international meetings, at one of which, held in Montreal in 1953, he was General Chairman. The International College of Anesthetists awarded him a medal for research in anesthesia; and at the Second International Pharmacological Meeting in Prague, in 1963, he was awarded the Purkyne Medal for his contribution to pharmacology.

At the age of 12 he won a scholarship which put him through five years of high school. Said he, "I think that is the main thing, that I didn't have any dislike for studies. . . . I went to it naturally."

Of his later studies he said: "When I was about to be graduated the Dean of Medicine called me into his office--he was Charles Martin--Charlie Martin--to inquire what I intended to do. He said, 'I suppose you know you have the highest academic standing in the medical course and that you're going to get the Holmes Gold Medal.' I said that I certainly would like to get it. He said, 'Maybe you would like to work for a year If you would like to do that, I would like to offer you a position.' So I decided to spend a year in research in pharmacology. And I'm still at it. I get deeper and deeper into it, and I'll be at it for the rest of my life. I can't solve all the problems."



At another point in the interview he said: "It was the custom in the 20s and 30s to look around in the rest of the world to see what was going on. So I obtained a fellowship to Europe for two years' research in Paris at the Pasteur Institute. Then I got a Licentiate from the Medical Council of Canada (some of the provinces have reciprocity with Commonwealth countries; but not Quebec; Quebec has nothing) and I passed the National Board Examination (U.S.A.) I can practise medicine anywhere in the world.

". . . . When I graduated in medicine there was no university in Jamaica. If there had been, I might have gone back to Jamaica. . . . I'm sorry to say that when I was a young man I didn't look at the economic aspect of the question. I made a fortune in two weeks. I made at least 150 dollars a day in the 'thirties. Practising for Dr. Savory in New York. That was before I went to France. Held down the practice for two weeks while he went to Chicago. . . . At six o'clock in the morning his chauffeur was there . . . to take me from one place to another.

"I was already married. At that time my wife had the opportunity to see what practice and research were like. We made the decision. Well, the decision was made. I had to have my 'phone taken out, had to have my name taken out of the 'phone book. And still people expected me to treat them. It's not easy to give up a practice like that, you know . . .

"I'm Vice-President of the Canadian Society for Chemotherapy. I worked in chemotherapy in France. That was before the days of antibiotics, before the days of sulphanilamides. That was my first interest, and that was why I went to France. I was really trained in chemotherapy. I was looking to the future . . . But imagine trying to start a new department in the 1930s! The University had no money for it. That was in 1929. A year or two after that, salaries were cut. I remember getting a notice from the Board of Governors that my salary had been reduced. Everybody got one . . . That was how I got onto the cardiovascular system! Ha ha ha."

He continued: "One of my first students is a Nobel prize-winner: Bovet, a Swiss. He got it for discovering synthetic antihistamine. He came to the Institute and the Director put him to study under me.

"At that time the Institute had a tremendous interest in malaria and trypanosomes . . . because France had tremendous investments in colonial

territories. At that time the Institute had ten organic chemists working exclusively on compounds. I remember one . . . had hundreds of compounds . . . about 865, I remember number 863. And only about ten of them could be used. I thought what a waste it was. And I wanted to do something about it."

In the course of talking about other aspects of his life this scientist said, "I used to play golf. But there were too many people, so I threw away the bloody clubs. Now I own a farm in Vermont. It has added years to my life. It's something that forces me to get out of the lab. I have 90 acres near Stowe . . . I really appreciate that. I'm really a tree farmer . . . I have 15,000 Christmas trees, you know."

Case No. 2. An Avionics Engineer.

Mr. Keith Glegg also is a Jamaican. Between 1958 and 1965 he and a work colleague built up 100 million dollars worth of American business for their firm. When the interviewer telephoned him to ask for an appointment, he said: "Well, let's see. I'll tell you. Frankly, I'm not interested in that sort of thing . . ." Of his career he said, "It's just a case of going from a job as a workman to managerial and administrative duties . . . I could give you a bibliography of a couple of pages . . . It's been said over and over again. In the Harvard Business Review and that sort of thing . . .

"I just work away at the job . . . and the fact that I'm from a part of the world that most people are not, doesn't occur to me . . .

"The idea of contributing to (the Commission's inquiry) . . . I don't want to have any part of this--ah--nonsense.

Eventually he yielded and an appointment was made. The interview, when it came, proceeded almost without a pause for 85 minutes. There was an interruption when a long distance call was announced by his son, and Mr. Glegg asked to have the caller repeat his call later. When the second call came the interviewer used the occasion to suggest that the interview could be ended.

Glegg, a professional engineer, is the General Manager of 600 employees of a department of a large, prosperous manufacturing company. He is about 40 years old. Up to the age of 20, he said, he had had very little



interest in people. "My interest in physical science really stemmed from a plain, ordinary, tinkering childhood . . . toys . . . friends and so on, interested in engineering kind of thing . . . radio."

He was graduated in engineering physics, then took a Master of Science degree in physics. This gave him the "cross of disciplines" he was looking for. "At one time I even toyed with the idea of chemical engineering. I have a brother with a Ph.D. in chemistry . . . My interest in the engineering side of things stems from my activities as a kid. Architecture seemed (remote from my interests) . . . only after I was about 25 did I develop an appreciation of it. My choice of engineering reflects a very distinct narrowness in point of view as a child."

When asked if it is possible to discern definite stages in the development of his professional career since graduation from university, he answered that there have been progressive levels of responsibility. "After you leave university there are two or three years when you prove to people around you and above, you can do something. They entrust things to your care which they . . . don't do themselves. Usually they can do them, they may even prefer to do them themselves, but . . .

"I went to -- (the company name) in '48. I was in charge of a group of perhaps 20 people. Most of the people of my vintage didn't have that much responsibility--20 people. The individual who, I should think, encouraged me most was the then Chief Engineer, who was Bird, Tom Bird, who was an Englishman . . . a very fine chap. I would say he was more socially oriented than most--not only engineers--than most humans . . . He was a Unitarian, and he had a very, quite wholesome, effect on people around him in general and on me in particular . . . In his regime I developed a fair amount of responsibility . . . I was given one little job . . . for the Government.

"I would say there's another man. That was Whaley. You're lucky to find the right person to learn from. It took Whaley to impress on me the importance of getting things done, as distinct from thinking about them. My introduction to the importance of doing something really came from Joe Whaley. Joe came from the National Research Council. That was '48 to '52. We did quite well to-

gether, quite a lot. Joe Whaley was Section Head and Tom Bird was Chief Engineer. We worked on a new, small development job.

"Tom Bird was replaced as Chief Engineer by another man. He went to England as Company Representative. George Kahan, a Pole . . . I would say that, of all the people I've worked for, he was the most intellectually astute. Whaley was practical and driving. Bird was a kind of humanist. Kahan impressed upon me how important it is to be accurate, and how easy it is to be accurate if you want to be. To this day I use it on other people: the importance of using the correct name for a thing; the importance of using accurate language

"Under Kahan I developed a keen sense of what it is to be careful and accurate. But this was his undoing. His concern with accuracy was extreme. He was not practical. From the management point of view he looked like a nitpicker . . . I was able to give him the practical side.

"He was Chief Engineer until--well, I inherited his job. That was 1958 or '59. At this point I had been through three schools: a practical school, a humanist school, and a good sort of abstract engineering school with Kahan. I had had enormous experience with design, experimentation, and lots of opportunity to spend money, which is part of the process by which one learns.

"I should mention also my contacts with the National Defence Board . . . Bert Walker, who was--again--from England. No element of my development was from the French. There was no French Canadian input. There have been no French Canadians in association with any of the work, absolutely none.

"Just before I became Chief Engineer following Kahan, things took an unexpected turn. The product we had been working on began to have commercial significance, both military and non-military. I became involved in a lot of outside activity . . . I became an active peddler.

"This led to an association with Bitcheno. He is English, though the name might be Italian. But at the time he was Sales Manager of the -- Department. I was Special Assignments Engineer in Commercial Products Division. This (turn of events) brought us together . . . So he and I became

very natural allies. We travelled together. I wouldn't go so far as to say that we've travelled around the world, but we went to a lot of places together, he doing the nontechnical, and I the technical, selling. Bitcheno became Division Manager and I became Chief Engineer. This was about '59.

"At this point I had acquired quite a lot of non-engineering interests, you might say. I had become a technical sales type . . . I learned how to please the customer . . . It was possible to tidy up the selling part of it. I was part engineer, part salesman.

"From there on a number of interesting circumstances led to a really surprising degree of business success for -- (names the company) for Bitcheno and for me. The key element just around then was the appearance of the big jet transport 'plane'. A (navigation) device that was too expensive for a two million dollar aeroplane could be incorporated in a five or six million dollar aeroplane. It got to the point where a human navigator was not able to keep up with the aeroplane, so our gear went in.

"Using the product, the Defence Research Board's money and Bitcheno's knowledge of the market place, we were able to sell a lot to big jet transports. About half the air lines of the world use our gear. We've sold the instrument to at least ten international lines. That's just a small piece. Small, compared to the military. Just after the commercial sales came the military. The Canadian military were very interested . . . The Argus, the Neptune, and things like the Yukon, the Comet, the Cosmopolitan . . .

"We began poking down into the United States to see what the U.S. had. It took us about two years of walking and talking. We sold ten here, twenty there. Then MATS got interested. MATS--the United States Air Force: that's Military Air Transportation Service. MATS started by buying 250 to 500 systems. There are very likely now 1500 of these systems in MATS. They sell for 25-35 thousand apiece. That's 35 million dollars for a thousand.

"Then we sold to the United States Tactical Air Command. Between MATS and TAC we have done fairly well. We must have sold 2500 instruments to them.

"We began to wonder how far we could go. There's a kind of unwritten rule that a company could sell to only one (military) service. We

didn't know about it, so we went on looking. But this "rule" turned out not to be so. Three or four years ago the United States Army began looking around for a device. There was a competition, and we won. Subsequently there was a United States Navy competition, which we also won. We're engaged in delivery to the U.S. Navy now.

"The U.S. people have been straightforward, more than honest, in assessing the gear, and selected the thing on its merits. They have been very, very straightforward and honest with the company . . .

"You eventually get to the point where you control a large part of the company's well-being, present and future . . . We have about one hundred million dollars of United States business going. Many of the people involved in it can be reasonably proud of working in Canada, for Canada.

"Ours is the second most important item in the transfer of U.S. dollars to Canada for military goods--after the Caribou by de Haviland. We very likely equip more aeroplanes in this way than any other company in the world. . . . We certainly have this gear in a wider variety . . . fixed-wing, helicopters and the like, than any other company.

"The original small job has grown and has become the nucleus of a much larger and more varied enterprise. As of now, I am no longer Chief Engineer. I am the General Manager of Avionics Department . . . (which is) no longer confined to only the Doppler Electronic Navigation System, but comprises a fairly large assortment of products.

"Two years ago I won the McCurdy Award (1964), It's a great big silver medal awarded to the engineer in the avionics industry considered to have made the most significant contribution to the development of the industry in Canada.

"Obstacles?" he repeated, in response to a question from the interviewer, "I don't really know of any. I've had difficulties and troubles, but, but . . . Gee, I couldn't honestly say there have been obstacles. No; I should think that I have been very fortunate I was able to realize (what I did) with these people and many others I haven't mentioned . . . At the moment I have about 600 people under me; and 600 people generate a lot of problems. Not engineering problems, but day-to-day human problems."

The next question put to the engineer asked if he would like to see a son or daughter of his become a professional engineer. His answer was decidedly negative, and he gave reasons which would make a very interesting text for a Commencement Address at any University. It is not necessary, however, to record that part of the interview here.

The entire interview proceeded without any mention of race, colour, religious difference. At the end, the respondent asked the interviewer what would be done with his notes. When the concern of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was explained, the engineer began to talk about race as follows:

"In my day-to-day activities on the job this question never arises, the question of race or colour. It never occurs to me in my work. This is not a factor at all." He pondered this question for a long time, talking the while.

"Even in my involvements with the Americans the question never comes up. This activity (of selling) has taken me deep into the United States. About one third of my time is spent in the United States. There has never been any problem of race or colour. I cannot think of a single instance in which we lost or won (a contract) on the question of race or colour . . . and this includes a great deal of involvement, north, east, south and west. In fact, I remember dealing with a Technical Supervisor who was a Southerner We had some great times together. I remember -- --, who was a Technical Supervisor in an air line, who was a Southerner, but who never, so far as I was aware, was at all concerned with questions of race or colour.

"Race just never has been a factor; just never," he said, ruminating deeply with clasped hands, and making very deliberate statements. "At the Company it has never entered into the picture, either."

A fortnight after this interview a news item appeared on the financial page of a local newspaper, announcing a "redirection of the company's resources, both human and financial, to concentrate on the most advanced aspects of the modern world of electronics, including navigational and communication devices . . ." It was Glegg's firm that was referred to.

Case No. 3. A Professional Jazz Pianist

It was not possible to obtain a personal interview with Mr. Oscar Peterson, as he was in Japan till late in January 1966. We are therefore obliged to refer to newspaper articles about him. It is commonly accepted that the levels of truth and accuracy in newspaper reports and articles are not always reliable. Indeed, some people place no credence whatever in them; but everything quoted here from the press is in line with the present authors' knowledge of the subject.

Unlike the first two persons we have written about, Peterson was born in Montreal and grew up in one of its shabby districts. He now lives in Toronto, where for five years he and several of his close professional colleagues directed the Advanced School of Contemporary Music.¹ The School opened in Toronto in 1960, in the pianist's home, and lasted for six weeks. Later in the year it was resumed for 17 weeks, offering the same courses as before: piano, percussion, bass fiddle, composing and arranging. Frequently the four faculty members taught a given lesson as a team. Still later in the same year a 20-weeks course was offered, but it proved to be far too long; for the faculty had their usual professional employment outside, and many of their students also were employed professional musicians.

In October 1962, therefore, the School offered a concentrated course of four weeks' duration, which was well received. At the time that news of the undertaking was published, similar courses were projected by this group for the following spring and summer.

The School also operated a Music Appreciation Club which its students attended twice a week. The Club met in the evenings and was open to the public. People interested in jazz paid a membership fee and attended meetings during the weeks of the School session, gathering in a living-room which accommodated an audience of about 45 plus the musicians.

The key figure in this enterprise was the son of a sleeping car porter. The porter taught himself to play the piano, then taught his wife, who taught the children. One of the children, a girl, taught her youngest

¹ Clarke Wallace and Louis Jaques, "Jazz School With an Oscar", Weekend Magazine No. 4, 1963: Photo story.

brother what she knew, and he became the greatest jazz pianist in Canada, in the front rank of jazz pianists of the world.

The sister, now Mrs. Daisy Sweeney, continues teaching music to this day. In a newspaper article in 1963 she was quoted as saying of her brother,

. . . . had it not been for the depression years he might have become a great classical pianist. He loves Bach. I remember when he played club dates in Montreal, he sometimes broke out into a Bach prelude or fugue. You could have heard a pin drop on Guy street.¹

Peterson still does this. Some of the most delicious moments at the Montreal Jazz Festival held in August 1965 were made that way by his sastounding technical feats on the keyboard, accompanied by Ray Brown and Lewis Hayes. Included in the performance was an ecstatic rendition of My Lonely Love, which ended abruptly with a coda of three or four bars from Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring.

At the age of five Oscar Peterson already was learning music. His father had bought him a trumpet and a book of instruction. The young man is quoted by a writer as saying, "He (the father) also gave me piano lessons and I could play Schubert and Scarlatti when I was six."²

The father was so delighted with Oscar's progress in music that he sent him to study under Paul de Marky, a Hungarian-born concert pianist. But the child also was exposed to the radio and the phonograph of his day.

Many big bands were playing half-hour programs on the air around 1934 and 1935," he says. "I listened carefully to Charlie Barnet and Benny Goodman, liked Teddy Wilson's piano playing and began to work out my own ideas. In the meantime, I was studying classical music with Mr. de Marky. I liked Debussy for his harmonies and Chopin for his conceptions. Pretty soon I was on the Montreal high school band and doing so well my father sent me into an amateur contest.³

He won the first prize of \$250, and was then offered a weekly radio program of 15 minutes, which he accepted.

When he was 17 he received a note from Johnny Holmes, a Montreal

¹ Montreal Star, 9 July 1963. Photo story.

² Charles Dexter, "He Plays a New Kind of Jazz", The Star Weekly (Toronto), 14 October 1950.

³ Ibid.

band leader, who invited him to appear at an audition. Holmes was so impressed with the youth's talent that he signed a contract with him and introduced him to Canadian jazz-lovers as a featured artist in his band.

was the first native Canadian jazz pianist whose playing compared favorably with that of the big-name artists from the U.S. He belonged to no school of jazz music; he listened and learned as he worked. When Benny Goodman, Charlie Barnet, Woody Herman and other noted swing kings made concert appearances in Montreal they dropped in to hear Oscar and were impressed. Pressure was building up for his introduction to U.S. audiences--but the 22-year-old Canadian resisted it.¹

Dexter quotes Peterson as saying that he has no one style of playing; but it seems to the present writers that his brisk, clean playing is recognizable at any time, particularly his use of the interval of the sixth with his right hand. Mrs. Sweeney, however, claims that she can recognize no special style because the artist's style changes, evolves, with the passage of time. As a professional pianist he must continually alter his style, he says, because imitators and "duplicators" soon appear after a professional musician does something new.

We conclude our remarks about Peterson with a lengthy quotation from Dexter's article.

Only a few jazz artists enjoy such a profound classical background as Oscar, who is also a student of piano techniques, with ideas of his own. "I think Vladimir Horowitz is the finest living pianist," he asserted. "Horowitz has precision, leanness of execution and sensitive understanding. For Beethoven, I choose Rudolph Serkin--a truly great artist.

There's but one jazz pianist in Oscar's hall of fame. His name is Art Tatum, that other forceful and imaginative master of his instrument. "Tatum never lets you know where he's going," Oscar says. "He hears harmonies and chordal structures that no one else hears and he knows how to bring them to life. Tatum? He's a god on the piano!"

Like Tatum, Oscar has physical power as well as mental agility. He is at his best in heroic improvisations, recorded on wire tape at private sessions. Given a piano, a few appreciative friends and all the time he needs, he makes music soar. He may begin with a few chords picked at random from a popular tune. Or he may recall some shuddering Debussyan transition. Or he may evolve some tonal flight of his own. Soon he is off and winging, spilling notes which shout and cry, cheer and peal--

¹ Ibid.

but never weep. Unlike many jazz artists of an older era, he does not feel blue. His music is vigorous, alive, happy. As Norman Granz puts it: "He is ideal enough so that all jazz people will be surprised. He is understandable, so that everyone will enjoy him. But most of all he is exciting. He moves. And jazz must excite and move!"¹

To link Negroes with the exuberant music called jazz is commonplace. It is not so common to remark that jazz is one of America's contributions to the culture of the Western world, that jazz has tens of thousands of avid fans in every leading nation, and that in America itself the most sedate military bands now play in a style approaching jazz music, even on parade, and the most forward-looking congregations permit jazz-style singing in their churches. To write about Oscar Peterson in a paper of this sort is therefore something to be expected. But the other two cases, also examples of genius, are not of the usual kind.

A Note on the Three Cases

As a rule, one associates genius with art products such as music, painting and literature of various sorts, with the occasional inclusion of people such as Newton and Leibnitz. We tend to think of the genius as an individualist who does what he wants, when he wants to, accountable to no one but himself. Unspectacular geniuses in laboratories and bureaucratic organizations are, as such, often overlooked, especially in modern times, when labs and bureaucracy are a part of everyday life. Even here, however, in the largely ignored sector of bureaucratic life, Negroes contribute significantly to their mother country's reputation and welfare. As in the case of jazz, scientific and technological contributions become in fact contributions of groups of Canadians to the comfort and satisfaction of the rest of the world.

¹ Ibid.

3. Official Attitudes: Immigration Policy with Respect to Coloured People

Parliamentary Figures

Although the three foregoing case histories indicate what can be achieved by some Negroes in some circumstances in Canada, there is a less encouraging side of the picture when one studies the history of their settlement and examines official attitudes and public opinion.

A coloured man once claimed that Sir Wilfred Laurier had remarked in a public speech that Canadians would never allow a "Negro problem" to develop as had happened in the United States. We have been unable to check out his claim, but have found that as early as 1908 William Lyon Mackenzie King, who at that time was Deputy Minister of Labour, expressed concern that Canada should remain "a white man's country."¹

King was then particularly concerned about a prospect of immigration to Canada from India; but in the House of Commons Debates in 1911 attention was focused on the prospect of immigration of Negroes from the United States.

On March 22 Mr. A.H. Clarke (South Essex, Ontario) called the attention of the Speaker to a Canadian Press despatch dated from Winnipeg, March 21. This despatch said that officers of the Immigration Department left Winnipeg for Emerson to prevent the entry of 165 Negroes from Oklahoma, who intended to settle in Canada's Northwest, taking advantage of the Canadian Government's offer of free land to all who would settle there.

Mr. Oliver, Minister of the Interior, replies:

I have noticed in the papers recently paragraphs of something of the nature of this one alluded to by my honourable friend from Essex. I have only to say that, in so far as these paragraphs state or have stated that the Dominion government has issued orders through its officials to prevent entry of negroes into Canada, these paragraphs are absolutely and entirely incorrect. No such instructions have been issued, no such action is being taken.

I would assume that the paragraphs are being

¹ Report by W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Labour, on his Mission to England to Confer with the British Authorities on the Subject of Immigration to Canada from the Orient, and Immigration from India in Particular. 7-8 Edward VII. Sessional Paper No. 36a, A. 1908.

I would assume that the paragraphs are being circulated unjustifiably for illegitimate purposes. It may be, however, that they are being circulated on account of a misunderstanding or misapprehension of the policy of the department which I may be permitted to explain in a very few words. The immigration policy of Canada today is restricted, exclusive, and selective as compared with the former policy of indiscriminate immigration . . .

Some exchange between Mr. Foster, Mr. Oliver, Mr. Pugsley.

Mr. Oliver: I was trying to explain what the Minister of Public Works said--these people will not be kept out because of their colour and neither will they be admitted because of their colour if they are otherwise undesirable.

Mr. Foster: What makes them undesirable?

Mr. Oliver: The conditions are described in the statute and regulations.

Mr. Foster: That relieves me to some extent because the minister said at first that he would go outside the law if he thought it best not to let a man in, but he would keep a good way inside the law if he thought the man should come in. Now he says he administers the law and the regulations according to their text.¹

On March 23 Mr. O. J. Wilcox (North Essex, Ontario) raised the question of a colour line being drawn in a department of the Government. (There already had been discussion on March 10 about coloured people employed in the Civil Service.) He quoted a press report dated March 22 in the Winnipeg Tribune, which was as follows:

With regard to Canada, popular sentiment, which already has compelled the dominion government to place the virtually prohibitive tax of \$500. a head upon every Chinese entering the country, and which has shown itself so hostile to Indian and Japanese labour in the western provinces, now is manifesting a pronounced disposition to exact from the government at Ottawa stringent legislation barring the American negro from the Dominion.

Mr. McGoig (West Kent, Ontario) then spoke.

Mr. Speaker, I represent the county adjoining that represented by my honourable friend (Mr. Wilcox), and in my section of the country there are a good many coloured farmers who are amongst the most industrious and successful citizens of the Dominion . . . I hope the government will continue

¹ Debates: House of Commons, Dominion of Canada, Sn. 1910-11, vol. III: 5911, March 22, 1911.

² Ibid., vol. IV: 5941. March 23, 1911.

along the lines they have set out on, and allow the coloured people to come in so long as they are prepared to perform the duties of citizenship which are expected from every man in Canada.

Some exchange between Mr. Hughes, Mr. Oliver, Mr. Wilcox.

Mr. Oliver: In regard to most of the questions of my honourable friend, I am not able to give an answer, because the matters referred to are not under my control or jurisdiction, nor am I in any way responsible for them. In regard to whether there is any sentiment in Canada in favour of placing a \$500 head tax upon negroes coming into the country so far as my information goes there is a very strong sentiment on the part of a great many people in this country against the admission of negroes; but as to the intention of the government,

Some exchange between Mr. Daniel and Mr. Oliver, concerning the barring of negroes coming from Oklahoma.

Mr. Daniel: On the 2nd of March I brought up a similar case, and the minister, in his reply to me at that time, undertook to examine into the occurrence and give the information later. It was a case where a party of negroes from the United States who wanted to go to western Canada, were stopped at the boundary, although they were of the desirable class, people who wanted to go on the land. So far the minister has not given me any information as to why they were turned back.

Mr. Oliver: I did make inquiry and received a report, which I have not placed before the house, but which I will take an early opportunity of doing. The report which I have received is practically that the story was made out of whole cloth. It is true, an individual, a coloured man, came to the boundary, and he was excluded for reasons that would have excluded any other man, whether coloured or not. That was the fact on which the story in the newspapers was based.

Discussion proceeded to the subject of employment of coloured people in the Canadian Civil Service, concerning whom Mr. Borden (Halifax) remarked:

There are a great many people of that race in different parts of Canada. They are good, honest, law abiding citizens and a credit to the communities in which they live. Some of their settlements have existed in this country for 150 years and others-- I am speaking more particularly of my own province of Nova Scotia--for about 100 years . . . ¹

On April 3 Mr. Thoburn (Lanark, Ontario) asked:

Mr. Speaker, is it the intention of the government to place any restrictions on or to stop altogether negro immigration from the southern states into our Canadian Northwest? We find by the newspaper reports

¹ Ibid., March 23, 1911.

that these people are coming over into Canada by the hundreds; later on they will come by the thousands, and so long as we give them free homesteads in the Canadian North West they will come by the tens of thousands. I would like to ask the government if they think it in the interests of Canada that we should have negro colonization in our Canadian North West? Would it not be preferable to preserve for the sons of Canada the lands they propose to give to niggers? I draw the attention of the minister of the Interior to an article bearing on this question which appears in one of our newspapers. The article is headed: 'Many Negroes Coming Over', and is as follows"

He went on to read a press report dated March 28 from Winnipeg, but did not name the newspaper from which the report was taken.

An exchange followed between Mr. Oliver, Mr. Foster and Mr. Sproule. At one point Mr. Foster said:

" . . . It seems to me that the matter is one of such importance that the minister can hardly say he cannot do anything because parliament has not legislated on the subject. The matter is one which the government ought to take under its immediate consideration and concerning which it ought to define a policy and submit that policy to parliament. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Oliver) has not been backwards in defining a policy with reference to British subjects who are not of the same colour and nationality as ourselves. He has not been at all feeble in preventing in a most effective way the settlement of our country of inhabitants of the empire who are loyal to us and have fought for British rule in all quarters of the world. If the Honourable minister has any intention of meeting this question he can find a way of carrying out that intention; but if not it seems to me he scarcely sees what may come as a result of this movement which has now been started. I do not want to criticize, but I submit that this is something worth thinking about and having a policy about."

A few minutes later Mr. Oliver's remarks included the statement:

" . . . No doubt there has been some talk in the newspapers about such a campaign (of Negroes migrating from the U.S.A.), but that has only arisen within the last month, and, therefore, we are hardly chargeable with negligence in not having framed a policy to anticipate something which so far is only in the prospective stage."¹

The issue of coloured immigration may have subsided in the House of Commons debates after 1911 until the early '50s, but in the intervening years it was a major concern of coloured individuals and their ethnic associations. From copies of correspondence between officers of

¹ Ibid. Vol IV: 6525. April 3, 1911.

these associations and members of Parliament we judge that bargains were made: a Member of Parliament lent his assistance in gaining the admission of a coloured immigrant into Canada, and in exchange the association promised its support of the member in the next election.

For example, in 1925 a letter from the Recording Secretary of The Negro Conservative Association was addressed to a Mr. S.P. Tolmie in the House of Commons, as follows:

February 15, 1925

Dear Sir:

On behalf of Mr. --, I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 7th inst., and thank you for the complimentary remarks contained therein.

Conscious of the present state of the country, and believing that under a Conservative Government the prosperity of the Dominion is likely to be restored, we have had great pleasure in forming "THE NEGRO CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION;" an association which, judging from a point of members and daily growth, may be the determining factor of the election results in this division.

We feel very much indebted to you for the promise to send us data from time to time, and in accordance with your request, please find enclosed a list of names of some of the officers and members.

It is with the greatest enthusiasm that we read Mr. Meighen's announcement in the press of Feb. 4th, and do hope to see a speedy return of his party to power.

Wishing you continued success in the cause of the Conservative Party,

I have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

Rec. Secretary

"THE NEGRO CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION."¹

One of the most interesting features of the colour issue in Canada is the consistency of the policy of restriction and exclusion followed by different Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration under different Govern-

¹ Letter in the possession of the present writers.

ments. The consistency became especially apparent when the Honorable Walter E. Harris, the Honorable John Pickersgill and the Honorable Ellen L. Fairclough were to all appearances consecutively responsible for the formulation and implementation of a discriminatory admissions policy.

In this connection an amusing exchange in the House is reported by D.C. Corbett in his book, Canadian Immigration Policy. He devotes some pages to discussion of a letter written in 1952 to a Member of the House of Commons by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. Part of the letter was as follows:

In reply to your last paragraph one of the conditions for admission to Canada is that immigrants should be able readily to become adapted and integrated into the life of the community within a reasonable time after their entry. In the light of experience it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their life in tropical or subtropical countries become readily adaptable to the Canadian mode of life, which, to no small extent, is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that natives of such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada. It is equally true that, generally speaking, persons from tropical or subtropical countries find it more difficult to succeed in the highly competitive Canadian economy. It would be quite contrary to fact, however, to infer from this that coloured immigrants are debarred from Canada. As in the past, favourable consideration is given in cases where the exceptional qualifications of the applicant offer reasonable assurance that he will find a satisfactory level in the Canadian community or where refusal would constitute extreme hardship on humanitarian grounds.

Dr. Corbett goes on to say that in order to check the Minister's assertions the Member put questions on the order paper in the House, requiring an answer from the Department.

Question 1. How many persons of British West Indies origin are at present living in Canada?

Answer: Information not available.

2. How many persons have entered Canada from the British West Indies during each of the five years 1947-1951, inclusive?

Answer: Statistics are not available as to the number of persons who have entered Canada . . .



The final question, Number 8, was:

Are any statistics available to show how immigrants to Canada from the British West Indies compare with immigrants from other warm climate countries in the following respect: (a) health records; (b) wages or salaries earned; (c) unemployment records; (d) profession and occupation followed; (e) public liabilities?

Answer: Statistics not available.¹

Recent Immigration

In the latter part of Miss Fairclough's term of office, after criticism in the daily press and elsewhere, it was announced that skin colour would thenceforward be ruled out as a criterion for admission as a landed immigrant and that the chief consideration would be the occupational qualifications of an applicant in relation to Canada's economic need. Nevertheless immigrants from certain countries of origin receive financial assistance in effecting their move, we understand, while immigrants from certain other countries receive none. Similarly, in cases of immigration from certain countries the process of application, clearance and departure is a matter of weeks, while in cases originating in other countries the process takes months.

At the present time, in spite of the official concern with skin colour, it is obvious on city streets that a considerable influx of coloured people from the United States and from various Caribbean islands has occurred since 1945. There also was in 1957-1958 an unexpected influx of hundreds of students from various African countries who distributed themselves in universities across the country. In some places their appearance posed a problem to authorities to help them find satisfactory residential accommodation.

Many of the coloured immigrants have substantial educational and occupational attainments and have found satisfactory employment of their talents in this country. Some others have experienced humiliation and frustration, as is attested to in the published writings of Austin Clarke

¹ David C. Corbett, Canada's Immigration Policy (University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 36, 195.

and George Lamming, two West Indian newcomers to Toronto. (The latter has now left the country.)

Of Canadian immigration policy, Lamming writes:

A formula, which appears to apply equally to all, allowed entry to Canada of roughly 200,000 Italians between 1951 and 1960. The number of Negroes (excluding those from the United States), largely West Indians, admitted in the years 1946-56 was 1,910.

But there is another, more revealing, figure. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration reports that in the same decade, 1946-56, 5,812 immigrants were admitted "who gave the British West Indies as their country of former residence." According to my figures then, 3,902 of these were non-Negroes--from a country whose residents, whether professional, clerical or unskilled, are predominantly black.

How does it happen? After three centuries of mixed breeding, many West Indians can claim almost any racial origin they choose. An application for entry is dealt with on its own merits, and the merits are decided by the official on the spot, but the applicant has to supply information concerning his racial origin. This gives the official his cue. The result is that two West Indians, comparable in merit as men and possibly first cousins, can have entirely different experiences in dealing with Canadian Immigration officials. One may declare his ancestry as Spanish, Portuguese or British and satisfy the official. The other says "Negro," since he looks it, and finds himself involved in correspondence that may last for years. It is a common complaint among West Indian Negroes in Canada that they are not accorded the full privileges of British subjects. And yet the number of Negro men entering Canada from the West Indies has shown an interesting increase in recent years. During the years 1957 to 1960, there were approximately 1,102. (The figure is not remarkable until we remember that only 1,910 were admitted in the previous ten years.)¹

An astute way in which to limit the growth of the coloured population in Canada would be to limit the number of females in it. This is precisely what the Canadian Government has done in the establishment of a scheme of quota immigration of domestic servants from West Indian islands.

It was started in 1955 with a quota of 100. A year later it was increased to 200 and during the next four years the figure rose slowly to 280 annually. In the six years of its application,

¹ Maclean's Magazine, November 4, 1961, page 54.

the scheme has allowed 1,320 women to enter Canada. They achieve the status of landed immigrants and after five years they may apply for full Canadian citizenship.

For men, there is no scheme comparable to this plan for allowing entry of female domestic help, but the Canadian government does not commit itself to any quotas restricting male immigration from the West Indies. Any man can try his luck, but his success will depend on the interpretation of the words "persons admissible to Canada."¹

In 1956 the Canadian Association for Adult Education published a six and a half page pamphlet titled: "Immigration: Whom Do We Bar and Why?" It states that

Since 1923 the restriction of Negroes has been effected by limiting the term "British Subject" for purposes of immigration to Commonwealth countries with predominately white populations. This excludes the British West Indies, British Honduras, British Guiana, the Bahamas, and it also excludes India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

European countries were subject to a descending order of preference. This began with Great Britain and was followed by preferred countries of Northern and Western Europe. Then came the non-preferred countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Last on the list were immigrants from Southern Europe, including Greeks, Italians, Turks, Syrians and Jews.²

The article goes on to discuss statements made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King to the House of Commons in 1947. We have already referred to his recommendation of 1908, and we find that after a passage of 39 years his attitude remained the same.

I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human Right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy.

There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population.³

On the subjects of immigration and employment it is hard for us to see how official attitudes in this country could remain unchanged while

¹ Ibid.

² Canadian Association for Adult Education, Citizens' Forum, pamphlet, February, 1956.

³ Ibid., p. 2. Quotation of statements by Mackenzie King.

radical changes in these respects take place among political and business officers south of the international border.

4. Public Opinion

The study of public opinion raises a question as to precisely what elements of the Canadian voting population are represented by Members of Parliament; for on the whole the general public appears to be more liberal in racial opinion than the ministers of the Government are.

Since the beginning of 1941 the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion has conducted opinion surveys among Canadians in order to assess their attitudes to specific racial and cultural groups. As a rule, no information is offered in these reports as to sizes of the samples of population or how they are determined and selected for interview. This is hardly a fault in material offered to the general public, but it may cause a shadow of uneasiness in the minds of statisticians. It is therefore reassuring to note that the variations of response according to region, occupational class and political party preference are as expected by one familiar with the Canadian scene.

Some of these surveys have been inspired by unfortunate incidents in Canadian communities. In one city a coloured boy was asked to leave a public skating rink after he had bought a ticket. A question on this issue was put to two samples of the Canadian population.¹ To the first sample Negroes were cited as an example of victims of racial discrimination; to the second sample, Jews were cited. Responses from the population varied according to the example cited, as indicated below:

"When someone is given a licence to run a place of entertainment, like a dance hall or a skating rink, should he have the right to keep out certain races, say Negroes, or should he be compelled to admit everyone, as long as they behave themselves?

People in the first sample responded as follows:

Have right to keep out.....	19%
Should admit everyone.....	77%
Undecided.....	4%
	<hr/> 100%

¹ Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 'Gallup Poll Report', Montreal Star, 9 January 1946.

When Jews were referred to, people in the second sample responded as follows:

Have right to keep out.....	12%
Should admit everyone.....	86%
Undecided.....	2%
	<hr/>
	100%

In every province, the Institute said, there were majorities from 66 per cent to as high as 90 per cent who said that such places of entertainment should not be discriminatory. (The second sample probably included some Jewish respondents, but we do not know how many.)

On a more recent occasion a group in a Canadian city protested at the purchase of a home in their neighbourhood by a Negro. The Gallup Poll asked a sample of Canadians about their feelings concerning this issue. At that time a British Gallup Poll was conducted following serious race riots in London, and results of the two surveys were published together.¹

The question, put to men and women of 21 and over, was this: 'Would you move if coloured people came to live in great numbers in your area?'

	Britain	Canada
Yes, definitely	26%	21%
Might do so	35%	32%
No, would not	39%	46%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%

The Institute's evidence also showed that Canadians in labour groups objected less than those in business and the professions.

	Business and professional	Labour	Farmers
Yes, definitely	27%	17%	25%
Might do so	31%	28%	33%
No, would not	42%	55%	42%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%

¹ Ibid., 10 January 1959.

The information above can be compared with a report from the Institute concerning attitudes to restrictive covenants.¹ The question put to 2,125 Canadians across the country was as follows:

If you were buying a home and the neighbours asked you to sign an agreement promising not to sell or rent it later to people of certain races or colour, would you be willing or not willing to sign such an agreement?

Responses were:

Willing to sign.....	19%
Not willing.....	68%
Qualified answers.....	4%
Undecided.....	9%
	<hr/> 100%

There were regional differences in the responses.²

Region	Total cases	% Willing to sign	% Not willing	% Qualified	% Undecided	%
Atlantic Provinces	225	26	63	4	7	100
Quebec	614	24	61	3	12	100
Ontario	650	21	67	3	9	100
Prairies	453	11	80	3	6	100
British Columbia	183	12	78	6	4	100

In the same newspaper, the Institute reported that in no province and in no social or economic class was there less than majority support for legislation prohibiting refusal of a job to an applicant because of his race, colour or religion.³

¹ Ibid., July 1949.

² This further information about the July 1949 report is taken from an analysis based on more data furnished by the Institute to Dr. Manfred Saälheimer. See his analysis: 'Canadian Public Opinion on Racial Restrictive Covenants', in Information and Comment, Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, No. 9, October 1949.

³ Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 'Gallup Poll Report', Montreal Star, 18 June 1947.

The responses were:

Approve.....	64%
Disapprove.....	23%
Undecided.....	13%
	<hr/> 100%

There is a relationship between the political party preferences of these respondents and the way in which they react to such legislation, shown below:

	Progressive- Conservative	Liberal	C.C.F. (Socialist)
Approve	53%	65%	71%
Disapprove	32%	23%	17%
Undecided	15%	12%	12%
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

In 1959 a sampling of national opinion was reported on the question:

'If coloured people came to live next door, would you move your home?'¹

Responses were:

Yes, definitely.....	5%
Might do so.....	14%
No, would not.....	81%
	<hr/> 100%

The responses were analysed for regional differences and for variations by occupation, with the following results:

	Atlantic Provinces and Quebec	Ontario	The West
Yes.....	7%	4%	4%
Might do so.....	16%	14%	11%
No, would not.....	77%	82%	85%
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

¹ Ibid., 7 January 1959.

	Business and professional	Labour	Farmers
Yes	8%	4%	4%
Might do so	15%	10%	18%
No, would not	77%	86%	78%
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

In 1963 the same question was put to Canadian respondents and the result was as follows:¹

	Canada	Eastern Provinces	Ontario	West
Yes, would move	4%	6%	3%	1%
Might move	5%	6%	6%	4%
No, would not move	91%	88%	91%	95%
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

The Institute, in reporting this, mentioned that the same trend question has been used in opinion studies in several Gallup Poll countries, and that one Briton in 20 said he would move. In the Canadian result one notices a large decrease in the proportion of undecided and an even larger increase in the proportion of those who would not move.

As for those who would move, we can only point out that other reports concerned with the attitudes of Canadians to European immigrants display the same evidence of a population burdened with gratuitous hostility.

¹ Ibid., 2 November, 1963.

5. Historical Background

Slavery

Slavery does not loom large in the memory of Canadians as a part of their history; but there were slaves in Canada: Indians at first, then Negroes.

In Quebec the first recorded sale of a Negro was in 1628, but apparently there was no great spread of Negro slavery in subsequent years. Even after 1688, when the Governor and the Intendant were faced with a shortage of workmen and domestic servants, and successfully petitioned Louis XIV through his Secretary of State to permit them to end it by the enslavement of Negroes, the slave population of Quebec Province did not grow much.

Ida Greaves mentions administrative advice, a decree and various legislative Acts in order to show how firmly established the system became, and she notes that a census of 1784 recorded 304 slaves, of whom 212 were in the Town and District of Montreal, and 88 in the Town and District of Quebec.¹ By 1791 there were 300 Negro slaves in the Niagara District alone.

Hardly had slavery taken a firm hold, however, than it came under assault. General Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was opposed to it, and so were his Chief Justice and his Solicitor General. A similar fate overtook the system in Lower Canada, where the courts were hostile to slave-owning plaintiffs and the Legislature indifferent to their property interests, in so far as these involved the retention of slaves. The system was undermined, however, not only by moral opposition in high places, but by the fact that the climate and soil of the two Canadas could not support it as a type of regional economy.

The last public slave sale was held in Montreal in 1797.

Slaves also were to be found in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island. Of the latter two, Greaves says the exact number of their slave populations is unknown and that the system there declined as it did in the other provinces.

In Nova Scotia there were slave caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and rope makers 30 years before the United Empire Loyalists arrived

¹ Ida Greaves, The Negro in Canada, Number 16 in the McGill University Economic Studies in the National Problems of Canada, 1930.

in 1783 with their "servants".¹ An incomplete count of Loyalist "servants" in Nova Scotia in 1784 recorded 1232.² By the early years of the nineteenth century, however, slaveholding had markedly declined without the necessity of law or statute to abolish it, much as it had been established without benefit of specific legislation.

Greaves writes:

"For the early extinction of slavery within her borders Canada owes much to her judges, and at least as much to the counsel who fought for the liberty of fugitive slaves with the hope of success as their only reward, but probably she owes most to her climate. In the South slavery was defended as a natural institution, but in the North nature was its greatest enemy. Few slaves remained in Canada to be freed by the Imperial Act of Abolition in 1833, but this was in point of fact the first law that definitely abolished slavery in Canada."³

The Settlement of free Negroes in
the Maritime Provinces

Besides Negroes who appeared in Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century as the slaves of owners long-established there, there were others who appeared as the slaves of United Empire Loyalists arriving from the United States after 1776. Outnumbering all these were Negroes who had cast off slavery and fled as free men to the enemies of the Americans--that is, to English troops and to English territory--at the time of the War for Independence. Some of them fought beside English troops.

They were awarded land on which Birchtown was erected in 1783. In 1784 there were 1522 coloured men, women and children on the site, many of them 40 years of age and some of them 80.⁴ The familiar story of greedy white settlers trying to get possession of the Birchtown properties has been recorded in a diary of the time.⁵

¹ Greaves, p. 17.

² Ibid., p. 18.

³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴ Robin W. Winks, manuscript history of the Negro in Canada. Yale University. Chap. 3, p. 25. See also Greaves, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵ Ida Greaves, op. cit., p. 22.

Settlements were established also in Liverpool and Shelburne, but there was strong resistance of provincial officials and settlers to the British Government's policy of granting land to Negroes. The result was that, after years of privation and disappointment, 1190 Negroes sailed from Halifax in January 1792 for Sierra Leone in West Africa, where they hoped to fare better than they had in Canada.

Their departure was not attended by jubilation among the whites they left. On the contrary, the organizer of the expedition, a kind man from England, Navy Lieutenant John Clarkson, was obstructed by people unwilling to see a labour supply vanish from the Province, especially since those who were departing were certified as to "honesty, sobriety and industry", while those who were staying behind were presumed to be "poor, thievish and unskilled".¹ Winks reports that the cost to the authorities of this exodus was between £15,000 and £16,000 Sterling for the hiring and demurrage of vessels, and for local costs for victualling, lodging and clothing.²

On July 22, 1796 another influx of Negroes reached Nova Scotia, this time from Jamaica in the British West Indies. They stayed four years and then were shipped to West Africa.

In 1795 Britain was at war with France, so when in that year a rebellion broke out among the Maroons in the interior of Jamaica (their third uprising in 130 years), the island's authorities were not in a patient mood. The Governor of Jamaica ended the rebellion by landing "40 Spanish chasseurs and 100 savage Cuban dogs" at Montego Bay in December 1795.³

The Maroons surrendered before the dogs had to be used, and the following June 556 of them from Trelawney Town were departed from Bluefields, Jamaica, to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Jamaican legislature voted 25,000 for their transport and for the purchase of land and provisions. They also sent along two superintendents to oversee their settlement in North America. In the end, the Jamaican Government spent nearly £50,000

¹ Winks, op. cit., chap. 3, p. 44.

² Ibid., 3, pp. 42-3.

³ Ibid., 4:4.

on the welfare of the deported people.¹

In Nova Scotia the Maroons, though not Christians, were at first well received. They were respected as tough warriors who had avoided enslavement by the British, they were hard workers, and they were gay. Their commissioners purchased more than 3,000 acres of land for them, nearly all near Preston, with town plots in Dartmouth. Later some refractory ones were moved to Bedford Basin. The Governor of Nova Scotia, John Wentworth, hoped to make another 18,000 acres available to the Jamaicans in time. He not only liked the Maroons, even to the extent of choosing a mistress from among them,² but he

"clearly hoped to create a fierce, useful corps of men who could oppose any invading enemy, whether the French, whom they were said to hate, or the Americans."³

His intention, which prevailed over the contrary view of one of the superintendents, was to segregate the Maroons as a single community.

However, the honeymoon between black and white lasted only a few months. Haligonians began to complain about the contempt with which Christian ministers of religion were received by the Maroons. The Maroons were polygamous. They buried their dead with tobacco, pipe, rum and two days' provisions. They also dug pits near their dwellings over which they raised cairns.⁴ They disliked wearing shoes and stockings. Winks says that they also were "given to swaggering about in their military garb, arrogant, rude, heathenish and superstitious."⁵

On their part, the Maroons "protested to their superintendents that they could not grow yams, bananas, cocoa, or pepper, as they had expected to do, and that they wished to be sent as soldiers to the Cape of Good Hope or to India."⁶

¹ Ibid., 4: 28 and Note 39, p. 58.

² Ibid., 4: 23.

³ Ibid., 4: 17.

⁴ Ibid., 4: Note 26, p. 55.

⁵ Ibid., 4: 19.

⁶ Ibid., 4: 19.

After years of hard political in-fighting among the Nova Scotia authorities, reflected in tense debates in the House of Commons in England, it was decided in London in June 1800 that the Jamaican settlers should sell their lands and houses and embark with their agricultural implements for Sierra Leone. On August 3, 1800 five hundred and fifty-one coloured people, 222 of them children, set sail from Halifax for West Africa, complete with tea, sugar, wine and molasses generously added to their provisions by Governor Wentworth. The Governor also supplied what no one else had thought of, medicines.

There were still many Negroes in Nova Scotia after the Maroons left. Winks cites statistics of the census of 1801: 8,534 residents in Halifax, 451 of them black.¹ Greaves cites an estimate by Haliburton of 3,000 Negroes in the Province in 1828.²

It was not long before another war brought in its train freed American slaves who had to be found a British home. A proclamation in 1814 invited all persons who wished to leave the United States "for the purpose of becoming free settlers in His Majesty's colonies" to board British warships.³ Slaves seized the opportunity to escape from their masters. In treaty negotiations later the United States claimed that 3601 slaves had been taken away, and in 1827 £250,000 was fixed as payment in full to Americans for slaves and other property.

About 300 Negroes formed the Willow Grove Settlement in New Brunswick, on land in lots of 50 acres each near Loch Lomond.

"Another group settled on the shores of Lake Otnabog and were granted land by the Legislature in 1830. But as in other provinces, the Negroes tended to drift into the towns. The Provincial Census of 1840 records 1711 "People of Colour" in New Brunswick, of which 767 were in the district of St. John, and 455 in the County of York."⁴

The fate of those who settled in an impoverished state in injudicious locations such as Preston and Hammond's Plains, was not to be envied. A passage from Haliburton describes them:

¹ Ibid., 4: Note 63, p. 64.

² Greaves, op. cit., p. 27.

³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

"Unaccustomed to provide for their own necessities, or to receive the produce of their own labour, some wandered through the country without object or design; and others, imagining that liberty consisted in a total exemption from labour, subsisted upon the produce of small gardens in summer, and upon rations allowed by the Government during winter."

In January 1821 a party of 90 men, women and children was put on specially chartered vessels for Trinidad. Negroes remaining in the neighborhood of Halifax became a public charge and "until the middle of the century the Legislature had to make almost annual grants for their relief."²

A proposal in 1837 to settle coloured people from communities such as Hammond's Plains and Preston on better land elsewhere was rejected by the Imperial Government, the sentiments of which had changed over the years from helpfulness to and encouragement of Negroes.

However, in other parts of the Province Negroes prospered. An account of some of those who arrived in Queen's County after 1815 was given by More in 1873.

"(They) settled and became respectable citizens. Many of their descendants are now living, and compare favourably with many of their white contemporaries. There are some of them among us who are intelligent and industrious citizens, and would, if allowed, fill some public offices with credit to themselves and the community."³

It is sad to reflect that in the 125 or 150 years since 1815, Negro settlements in the Maritime provinces have not shown marked economic and social advancement. This fact may be explained in part by the sluggish economy of the entire Maritime region, but another factor that may help to produce this result is the religious identification of the Negroes. We are told that in Halifax County there are eight Negro communities within a radius of 15 miles with a total population of about four thousand. In the whole province there are 47 communities with a total population of about 14,000. The coloured people are almost solidly Baptist, with 24 churches in the African Baptist Association of the province. There is an Anglican

¹ Haliburton, quoted by Greaves, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

² Greaves, op. cit., p. 25.

³ More, quoted by Greaves, op. cit., p. 27.

congregation in Weymouth, and somewhere in the province there is an African (Roman Catholic) Orthodox Church served by a married priest who has a daughter.

Remembering the persuasive arguments adduced by Max Weber and R.H. Tawney in support of their thesis that there is an association of the religious beliefs and practices of Protestants with their leading role in the development of modern capitalist enterprises, we make bold to suggest that some similar association of religious belief and behaviour with economic behaviour might be revealed by careful research among the Negroes of Nova Scotia.

Nevertheless an important contribution to the continued low status of Negroes has been hardened racial prejudice and hostile discrimination. These have resulted not only in reduced economic and social opportunities for the Negroes, but often in inferior schooling for them as well. The subject of their education follows.

Negro Education in Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia, which till recent years had racial segregation of schools, has not had the same amount of publicity as the American South has had on that subject. Nevertheless its school segregation has a long history. Winks says:

By 1830 there were schools for blacks in Halifax, Preston, Hammond's Plains, Shelburne, and Digby, all supported by an English philanthropic society, "The Associates of the late Reverend Dr. Bray." Dr. Bray's Associates continued to support Negro schools throughout the province, often the only schools open to black children, into the 1850's.

The patchwork nature of Negro education in Nova Scotia was further complicated by the fact that the province did provide funds in a niggardly manner. An amendment to the educational act of 1836 empowered the commissioners of education to use a portion of the £70 which the legislature had granted them for assistance to poor school districts, to establish schools for blacks, even if common schools already existed, and the African School in Halifax was voted a separate yearly sum of £60. Negroes therefore studied, when they studied at all, in their own voluntary schools, in those run for them by the province, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and in a few instances, in the common schools.¹

¹ R.W. Winks, op. cit., chap. XIV, pp. 9 and 10.

Between 1884 and 1918 the statute books of Nova Scotia contained a law which empowered school commissioners of any municipality to establish separate (racial) schools if such were thought necessary and if the government approved.¹ However, since the schools naturally had one-race populations (and might more properly be referred to as "exclusive" schools) as a result of the residential segregation of whites and Negroes, the law did not have to be invoked. In defence of segregation it was said that it offered greater rather than less opportunity for coloured children to surpass somebody else because they competed only with other coloured children.

Winks goes on to say:

In 1918 the Nova Scotian Education Act provided that the Council of Public Instruction could "receive the recommendation of any inspector for separate apartments or buildings in any section for the different sexes or different races of pupils, and to make such decisions thereon as it deems proper, subject to the provision that coloured pupils shall not be excluded from instruction in the public school in the section in which they reside . . ." So the law remained until 1954, when all reference to race was dropped from the statute. Between 1918 and 1954 the Negro schools continued to fare badly and only the most blind of school inspectors could have pretended that separate education also was equal education. In the Annual Reports of Nova Scotia's Superintendent of Education there are many references to the uncertainty as to the legal status of their property. In 1918 all children near Annapolis and Digby had access to schools "except the colored section of Fundy . . .," where there were twenty children of school age and where there had been no school for ten years. At Joggins, where whites and Negroes attended, the latter were permitted to use the school building only one-third of the time. A controversy forced the local inspector to shift the whites to Acaciaville and to leave Joggins to the Negroes. Colored schools also existed in Inglewood and Weymouth Falls, the latter with a white teacher. In 1927 the Negro rate-payers of Five Mile Plains refused to pay their school taxes, and the Canadian Gypsum Company, a major employer of Negroes, offered \$200 provided the community would raise an equal sum through taxes, which it ultimately did.

Almost never were the Negro teachers properly qualified or paid. In 1912 and in 1919 there was no school for Negroes in Guysborough County because no teacher could be found who would accept the salary. In 1911 Negroes in Joggins and Fundy had been without a school for three and five years respectively. In 1920 the Negroes of Greenville in Yarmouth County failed to find a teacher, and the school remained closed for at least eight years. In 1915 two schools,

¹ Ibid. chap. XIV, page 27. In note number 32 Professor Winks refers to The Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, Fifth Series (Halifax, 1884), p. 219, and The Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1900 (Halifax), I, 373.

including Avonside, for colored children, could not open in Antigonish County for want of teachers.

During none of this time was Nova Scotia prosperous; after 1929 it was poverty-stricken, and white schools suffered with separate schools for want of teachers, equipment, and transportation. In 1932 a new school for Negroes was opened in Guysborough with seventeen pupils; it was the first genuine school for the Negroes of the area to be opened in over forty years, and the Negroes had raised the funds for it themselves through concerts and benefit suppers, together with a grant from the Department of Education. But in Greenville there still was no school, and the Negro school in Beechville closed for lack of a teacher; in six locations including Maroon Hill, Negro schools operated only during the summer. In Annapolis and Digby but one of four colored schools was taught by a licensed instructor, and the school at Fundy did not open until June and operated only through the summer. In 1934 all 142 schools in Annapolis County and the District of Digby functioned but six were open less than full time--including the two Negro schools.. Not until 1936 did the Negroes of Birchtown, in Guysborough County, receive schooling, and then in a mission church. In 1940 the one admittedly uninsurable school in Nova Scotia was a dilapidated building for Negroes in Guysborough County.¹

The modern school autobus and a reorganization of the administrative side of education have resulted in a consolidation of schools throughout Nova Scotia. That is, one well-equipped modern school now serves a region where several poorly equipped local schools, supported by local taxes, formerly went through the motions of educating children. Consolidation has resulted in a very great reduction in the number of racially segregated schools in the 1960s. In order to illustrate the problem, we quote from a Survey of Negro Population of Digby County reported in July 1963:

In Digby County education for Negroes has progressed favorably since the closing of the Conway Segregated School some years ago. Now schools are all integrated with the exception of the Primary School at Weymouth Falls (Grades 1 to 3) which the Negro community insisted on keeping open to avoid young children having to travel to Weymouth.²

¹ Ibid., pp. 33-5.

² Survey Reports, Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights, Nova Scotia. Mimeographed collection of analytical reports, county by county, 1963. Report on Digby County.

An Addendum to these Reports states that, as of July-August 1963, there was a total of 10,446 Negroes in Nova Scotia. This is considerably less than the figure offered by Dr. W.P. Oliver in A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities, mimeographed and dated March 1964. There a total of approximately 14,000 is mentioned for 47 communities whose populations vary in size from 5, 15 and 20 to 1,300 and 1,800. In Halifax County itself, according to one informant, eight Negro communities with a total population of about 4,000 are situated within a radius of 15 miles.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that segregated schools more often than not offer vastly inferior education and training to pupils of minority status. They also preclude the formation of school friendships across majority-minority lines. Such friendships frequently are decisive in later life when one of the friends has the power of offering an economic or social opportunity to the other.

Problems Other Than Education

Adequate education in primary and secondary schools is only one problem. Other problems are indicated in the following review of the activities and achievements of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People:

The main areas of concern of the NSAACP are:

Education
Employment
Housing
Human Relations

Some of the accomplishments of the NSAACP are as follows:

- Won the right for Negroes to sit where they choose in theatres.
- Through resolutions and press, insurance companies changed their attitude and began to sell Negroes other than industrial insurance policies.
- Did the housing survey and brief that saved the Negro belt of Halifax from the bulldozers, until a more intelligent approach was made under Ordinance 50.
- They consulted on all legislative acts such as: Fair Accommodation Act, Fair Employment, and recent Civil Rights Committee.
- Integrated middle-Sackville schools in 1950. This opened up the whole matter of gerrymandering school districts.
- Opened up nurses training and placement in hospitals in 1946.
- Fought for and were able to get "Black Sambo" and other material of derogatory nature out of Canadian School text books.

In very recent years provincial and municipal authorities have shown an active concern about stimulating and assisting change for the better in the formal education, housing and gainful employment of Negroes, although in a telecast interview in 1963 or 1964 a Mayor of Halifax left the strong impression that he did not care at all what happened to such people.

¹ Nova Scotia Scene, vol. 2, December 1965. A mimeographed newsletter of the Nova Scotia Project, 2183 Barrington Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

There also is an effective movement among ordinary citizens of both the white and coloured groups to do something constructive about the shameful plight of some classes of the Negro population.¹

Members of the Unitarian Church in Halifax and members of a white church in Truro now assist Negroes in their efforts at community improvement. About 30 students of St. Mary's College in Halifax, under the guidance of priests, tutor Negro high school students in order to keep them in school. The tutors pay the costs out of their own pockets. The students of St. Mary's also have established a four-year bursary for a Negro student.

This movement seems to be part of a larger nation-wide concern about social problems, the evidence of which lies in the trend of legislation described later in our paper.

¹ An outline of these considerable efforts is given in a letter to the editor of the Globe and Mail (Toronto), April 1, 1965, signed by Mildred Millar and Leah Epstein, Executive Committee of the Halifax Inter-Racial Council.

Negro Settlement in Ontario

The social history of the Negro in Ontario can be divided into three major periods. The first includes the early Negro settlements of Upper Canada and Ontario between 1791 and 1865. It is the period of British slaves, American fugitive slaves and coloured freedmen, all found primarily in southwestern Ontario.

The second period, beginning with World War I, saw British West Indian and American Negroes--new arrivals--augmenting the small Negro population of the Province. During this period a tripartite Negro community became apparent, particularly in Toronto, with different social organizations emerging based on distinct alignments within the British West Indian, native "old line" Canadian and American segments of the coloured population.

The third period, characterized by a new prosperity which emerged after World War II, witnessed a) the emergence of an occupational elite within a new Negro middle class located primarily in Windsor and Toronto; b) a new type of residential mobility of urban Negroes; c) the establishment of social action, protest-type organizations in Chatham, Dresden and Windsor; and d) the emergence of Negro service and professional organizations in Toronto.

FIRST PERIOD: 1791-1865

The origin of Negroes in Ontario can be traced to slavery which existed before the separation of the upper and lower provinces in 1791. Negro slaves acted primarily in the capacity of "body servants" for well-to-do officials. At York, H. Scadding mentioned that it was commonplace for officials to have slaves:

Most gentlemen from the administrator of the government downwards, possessed some slaves. Peter Russell in 1906 was anxious to dispose of his and thus advertised in the Gazette and Oracle:
To Be Sold: A Black woman named Peggy aged 40 and a Black boy her son Jupiter aged 15."¹

Occasionally slave sales were advertised in local papers, and the Upper Canada Gazette carried a number of such advertisements between the years 1793 and 1800 for sales in Niagara and York:

¹ Scadding, H. Toronto Past & Present. Toronto: Alain, Stevenson & Co. 1873. pp. 292-294.

December 20, 1800:

To Be Sold

A healthy strong Negro woman, about 30 years of age understands cookery, laundry and the taking care of poultry. N.B. She can dress ladies hair. Enquire of the printers.

York.

In 1790 new settlers were allowed to bring slaves into what was to become Upper Canada at a value of "40 shillings for each one".¹ Strong Loyalists fled the United States during the Revolution and settled on the north shore of Lake Erie, in Malden and Colchester townships, bringing their slaves with them.

Mathew Elliot, who was engaged in Indian Trade and Government at Fort Pitt and in Ohio Territory, fled after the American occupation and settled on a farm south of Amherstburg. He was said to have been one of the largest slave owners in Upper Canada, with over 60 slaves on his residence.² Nevertheless, E.C. Guillet has observed that Negro slaves, other than as personal servants, were not significant in the labour force.³ E. Firth seems to confirm this, as well, in the following statement regarding York's early Negro population: "In 1799 there were fifteen Negroes in York and another ten in Peter Long's household east of the Don. By 1802 there were eighteen in the town including six children."⁴

Miss Firth also states that Robert Franklin, a senior servant in Peter Russell's household, was considered "the most prominent Negro" during this period, having settled on a farm in York township after being refused the right to purchase land on Yonge Street. This would appear to be the first recorded instance of racial discrimination in Toronto.⁵

¹ Jones, J.E. Crimes and Punishments in Toronto and the Home District. Toronto: George N. Morang. 1924. pp. 11-14.

² Firth, E. The Town of York 1793 - 1815. University of Toronto Press. 1962. pp. 243.

³ Guillet, C.E. Toronto From Trading Post to Great City. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd. 1934. pp. 310-314.

⁴ Firth, E. Op. Cit., P. LXXVIII.

⁵ Ibid., P. LXXVII. This incident may have been the inspiration for the Town's Negroes uniting in 1799 "To contract for the building of a road from Davenport Road to Castle Frank Road."

Another notable slave was John Baker, body servant of Robert I.D. Gray, Upper Canada's first solicitor General, who, upon the death of his master, was freed and left two hundred acres of land in nearby Whitby township. He later became a soldier, fought at Waterloo, and died at Cornwall in 1871. According to Middleton, Baker was considered the last of all who had been slaves in the province.¹

The development of slavery as an institution was prevented in Upper Canada by the actions of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, a resolute opponent of slavery. Simcoe's bill, An Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves And To Limit The Term Of Forced Servitude Within This Province. was enacted on July 9, 1793, virtually abolished slavery in the province.² The bill contained the following provisions:

- a) No further slaves could be introduced into the province;
- b) slaves already in Upper Canada would remain in bondage until manumitted by their owners;
- c) children born to slaves, after the passing of the Act, would be automatically free at the age of 25;
- d) any voluntary indenture or service must not be binding for longer than nine years.

Although in some quarters this Act was considered a compromise with existing slavery, it was passed over the objections of a farmers' lobby that insisted that slave labour would be necessary in the province if a healthy agricultural economy was to be developed.

Slavery in Ontario thus lasted for only one generation and on August 28, 1833, by power of the Imperial Parliament's Emancipation Act, slavery was abolished in all parts of the British Empire.

During the early decades of the 1800s the few Negro refugees from American slavery who had entered the province had their new status in Canada protected (and their loyalty/enhanced) when, in 1827 the British Government refused to agree to American demands that fugitive slaves be returned to the

¹ Middleton, J.E. The municipality of Toronto: A History, Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Co. 1923. pp. 247f.

² Statutes of Upper Canada. 1793, Chapter VII.

United States, stating, "Every man is free who reaches British ground".

Free Negro settlers in York were engaged as soldiers as early as the War of 1812. According to Crown land papers for the years 1826 to 1828, "Tickets of location to men of colour for lots on Wilberforce Street (Township of Medonte)" were given to fifteen Negroes, four of whom were residents of the town of York. One of them, Sam Edwards, was described as being a "discharged private from the late coloured corps." Another York resident receiving land in Medonte, Solomon Albert, was mentioned in the records as a gardener by vocation and a former private in the Tenth Regiment. (Other coloured men who obtained crown lands at the same time were from Niagara, Markham, Vaughan and Oro townships).¹

Negro soldiers from Toronto and other parts of Ontario served during the rebellion of 1837. The Provincial Freeman, a recently discovered anti-slavery Negro weekly published in Toronto and Windsor during the 1850s, discussed the subject of Negro soldiers and claimed that "there were volunteer companies of coloured soldiers in places west but no regulars", and that "during the rebellion coloured soldiers served the country very acceptably; and now we frequently meet coloured men who are pensioners."²

Josiah Henson, immortalized in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and perhaps the best-known Negro personality in Canada, commanded the Second Company of coloured volunteers. The specific action of the Second Company and Josiah Henson has been cited in the works of Jean Tallach and Ernest Green:

During the Rebellion of 1837-38 Uncle Tom with other ex-slaves fought in defence of his adopted country. On January 8, 1838, the Detroit frontier force in which he was serving had its first taste of action. The schooner "Anne", manned by rebels and sympathizers, sailed down the Detroit River discharging their cannon and muskets into the Town of Sandwich. Their fire was sharply returned by the defenders of the Canadian shore, and such casualties and confusion were caused on board the ship that she got out of control and drifted ashore

¹ Military Settlement Soldiers and Emigrants, 1816-1828. Crown Land papers. No. 20. p. 9. Ontario Archives.

² The Provincial Freeman. June 3, 1854. Published from 1853 to 1857 at Toronto and at Chatham. Canada West.

on Elliott's point. A detachment of Essex militia, including the Second Company of coloured volunteers under Captain Josiah Henson, was quickly on the spot. The vessel was speedily captured and the men aboard made prisoners.¹

With the help of the Abolitionist groups that constituted the famous Underground Railroad, ² thousands of Negroes found their way into Upper Canada during the first 55 years of the 19th Century. Many of the refugees lived in the southwestern part of the province with thriving communities at Buxton and Dresden and in the Chatham and Windsor areas. Other Negroes settled in Oro Township and in St. Catharines, Hamilton and York (Toronto).

The number of refugees swelled, especially during the decade 1850-1860, after the United States Congress on September 18, 1850 enacted the Fugitive Slave Act. This Act reversed previous judicial decisions granting freedom to escaped slaves reaching northern states, and provided for the return to slavery of any Negroes in the north who were discovered and claimed by their masters or proper agents.

There is no general agreement regarding the number of coloured persons living in the province during the 1840s and 1850s. The first Census of Canada held in 1850 lists 2,502 males and 2,167 Negro females.³ However, the Census admitted to certain inaccuracies in respect of enumerating the coloured population, noting: "In several counties these divisions were not given in the abstracts" and it concluded that there were probably ⁴ 8,000 coloured persons in Canada West.

Ida Greaves also discussed this problem and revealed that fugitive slaves themselves, "frequently omitted to indicate their colour when making returns, so that even where a colour record was taken it was

¹ Tallach, Jean. The story of Reverend Josiah Henson. Kent Historical Society, Papers & Addresses. 1951. pp. 45-53 & Ernest Green, Upper Canada's Black Defenders. Ontario Historical Society 1931. V. 27, p. 365-391.

² The underground railroad constituted a system of houses, farms and other hiding places stretching from the Mason-Dixon line into Canada. Its members were anti-slavery sympathizers and abolitionists.

³ Census of the Canadas. 1851, Vol 1, p. 317.

⁴ Ibid.

incomplete."¹ Other estimates indicating a count of about 30,000 coloured persons during this period were given by Henry C. Bibb in his Negro anti-slavery journal, "The Voice of the Fugitive",² by the Toronto Anti-slavery Society and by Benjamin Drew, a Quaker abolitionist interested in the refugee Negro in Canada.³ Finally, in discussing this same matter Professor Fred Landon estimated that at least 15 to 16,000 refugees entered the country in the period 1850-1860 alone.⁴

Churches and Settlements

The earliest known organizations among the refugees were Negro churches, abolitionist groups and benevolent societies, all organized between the years 1826-1850.

The oldest known Negro institution in the province, Toronto's First Baptist Church, was founded in 1826 when a dozen fugitives met on the shores of Toronto Bay and prayed.⁵ Worshipping at first outdoors where the Toronto docks are now located, they had by 1827 expanded in number, and leased the St. George's Masonic Lodge rooms for Sunday meetings. From 1834 to 1841, services were held in a building on Richmond Street and for a number of years, due to the continued influx of refugees, the church continued to grow and increase in membership and influence. Late in 1841, the congregation built a frame structure on the northeastern corner of Victoria and Queen Street. Referring to this church, John Ross Robertson stated:

¹ Greaves, Ida. The Negro in Canada. McGill University Economic Studies. No. 16, 1929, p. 8.

² The Voice of the Fugitive. Vol. 1. No. 11, May 1851. p. 2, Col. 1

³ The Toronto Anti-slavery Society. First Annual Report. March 24, 1852.

⁴ Landon, Fred. "Negro Migration to Canada". Journal of Negro History. Vol. 5, 1920. Professor Landon was a frequent contributor to the Journal of Negro History, the Ontario Historical Review and the Royal Society of Canada, writing numerous articles on the development of the 19th century Negro population in Southwestern Ontario.

⁵ Amherstburg Baptist Association. Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth: A History of the Amherstburg regular missionary Baptist Association. Its auxiliaries and churches. A pamphlet prepared by the Association's Historical Committee. 1940. pp. 95-97.

A few coloured people sixty years ago by organizing themselves into a Baptist Church, stimulated a few white people that attended their services to start out for themselves; from the latter, the old Bond Street church originated and from that the present Jarvis Street edifice started.¹

The Amherstburg Association, an organization of Negro Baptist churches in Ontario, gives specific credit to an Elder Washington Christian for organizing Toronto's first Baptist Church, as well as others throughout the province:

Another founder of Baptist Churches among the colored people in Ontario was Elder Christian, who probably founded more Canadian Baptist Churches than any other colored Baptist minister

He laboured as a missionary for a time in Boston, Connecticut and New Haven. Then he felt the call to go among the refugee slaves in Canada. He entered Canada and organized a colored Baptist Church at Toronto. Its membership grew to such a size during his pastorate that they had to build a larger church; this they did on a lot purchased on Queen Street.

He also founded Baptist churches at St. Catharines, Hamilton and at another place whose name could not be deciphered on the hand written record.²

Approximately 15 coloured Baptist congregations throughout the province were serving the refugee population, between the years 1826 and 1866. Most of these have either gone out of existence or merged with other churches during the intervening years.³

Two other Negro churches--The Colored Wesleyans and the African Methodist Episcopal church--appeared between 1838 and 1847. Property situated on Richmond Street near York was purchased for 125 pounds from John Cawthra and James Leslie on the seventh of July, 1838 and was deeded to W.R. Abbott and two other Negroes who were considered founders of the Colored Wesleyan

¹ Robertson, J.R. Landmarks of Toronto: A collection of historical sketches of the old town of York from 1792-1837 and of Toronto from 1837-1904. Toronto 1904. pp. 471.

² Amherstburg Association. Op. Cit. pp. 3f.

³ Ibid. p. 42, 43. See also The Ontario Negro, an outline of Negro History and development. Special booklet prepared by J. Farrell for the Negro History Exhibit held at the University of Windsor. Feb. 7-13, 1965.

Methodist Church of Toronto.

Starting with a congregation of forty, the Colored Wesleyan movement seems to have arisen from the indignation of some of its original members concerning the city's white Wesleyans, who were in fellowship and union with pro-slavery churches in the United States South.¹ By 1850, the Colored Wesleyans claimed over 100 members, and the church continued to function until 1875 when finally the deaths of many members, and the loss of others who returned to the United States, brought an end to the Colored Wesleyan movement.²

Also established during this period was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a branch of an American Negro denomination founded in the late eighteenth century. Describing the church's early history, one of its recent ministers wrote:

The Organization of the Church took place after the run-away slaves found refuge in Canada through the underground railway system from the United States sometime during 1840.

Following about a quarter of a century of operation strictly under the banner of African Methodism, a petition was sent to the Mother Church at Philadelphia for permission to bring about a Church in Canada for closer relationship with British ideals and government, hence the Mother Church granted permission, and from that action the British Methodist Episcopal Church was given birth. The Church continued its name "British" replacing the name "African" hence the British Methodist Episcopal Church.

A few years rolled by however, when from the congregation arose those whose adherence to the Mother Church created a new interest, and from that new creation, but with a separate following, the African Church began its activities as such. There are several places in the city where the church congregated for worship, such as Queen Street, Elizabeth, Elm and its present site, Soho.³

The A.M.E. Church showed a membership of 128 persons in 1851.

By 1852, at a conference of the A.M.E. churches in Canada, it was considered the third largest of six reporting districts, including Sunday School classes of fifty pupils and six teachers.

¹ The Provincial Freeman. June 20, 1851.

² For a more complete history of the Colored Wesleyan Church, see unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of D. G. Hill, Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group. University of Toronto, Sept. 1960, pp. 376

³ Souvenir programme, 112 Anniversary of the Grant Street A.M.E. Church. Toronto. November 9-16, 1952. p. 1.

Two experimental refugee settlements also were formed during this period. In 1838 Josiah Henson, the Reverend Hiram Wilson and Harry Shelby chose a site at Dawn, on the Sydenham river, as the place for a settlement of refugee slaves. The colony included a mill and school. Throughout the 1840s the settlement grew through the support of Hiram Wilson, a white Congregational missionary from Massachusetts and an English member of The Society of Friends, James C. Fuller. However, Dawn was beset from the very beginning with managerial problems, many of which involved Henson himself in legal battles. Constant criticism of the project by the Negro community and the press, as well as persistent financial scandals, led to the early demise of Dawn.¹

In 1850, Reverend William King and 15 freed slaves which he had inherited through marriage arrived at Buxton in Raleigh Township to found another refugee community. The sponsoring body of this colony was known as the Elgin Association, named after Canada's Governor General Lord Elgin, who strongly supported the scheme. The sixth report of the Elgin Colony in 1855 showed 827 acres of land cleared and fenced, with 216 acres ready for planting in 1856. In writing about the success of the Elgin settlement William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease stated;

The Negro settlers were a prosperous group . . . Elgin had grown from the original 15 slaves to a settlement of over 1,000 persons.

By the middle of the 1860's it boasted over 16 hundred cultivated acres of land, more than 1,500 head of livestock. It supported various industries, several schools and a mission station which had trained over 1,000 students, and three churches in addition to the mission staff itself. William King as the creator and leader of the settlement, was implicitly obeyed and equally loved. If the settlement seemed a benevolent paternalism where prizes were awarded for the best built houses, the best kept property, or the neatest gardens, still it is hard to conceive of the experiment's being conducted in much different fashion.

¹ For a detailed discussion of the problems leading to the failure of the Dawn Settlement, see Uncle Tom & Clayton: Fact, Fiction and Mystery, William H. Pease & Jane H. Pease. Ontario History. Vol. 1 1958. No. 2.

With the coming of the American Civil War, however, the usefulness of King's enterprise declined. At least 70 of the Elgin Negroes returned to the States to fight with the Union forces, and, with the return of peace, many of the Negroes who had fled to Canada during the 1840's and the 1850's returned to their native land.¹

Early Settlement in Toronto

Many of the runaway slaves and Negro freedmen who came to Canada during the mid-19th Century had skills and trades and they found, in Ontario, a level of acceptability, a healthy social climate which allowed them to prosper. Although business and social organizations operated by or for the benefit of Negroes existed elsewhere in Ontario, it was in Toronto that the greatest activity on behalf of the refugees took place and it was in this city, as well, that a thriving Negro business community developed. The unique Negro settlement in Toronto therefore should be discussed.

Officials in the government commended the industry and self-reliance of the Negro community. John Dunn, Receiver General for Upper Canada at the time, stated in a letter to an American abolitionist: "Negroes ask for charity less than any other group, and seem generally prosperous and industrious." The occasional special reference by other writers to the 1,000-strong Toronto Negro community during this time also indicates that an indigent class did not develop among the coloured of that city. In Kohl's Travels in Canada, an old man named Robertson, "while complaining that his fellow Negroes would not help him, (said) that there were of Negroes who were well off not a few in Toronto."² Benjamin Drew observed that most Negroes owned their own homes, while some had acquired valuable property. Earlier in the 1840s, a Negro referred to as Mr. Snow owned and operated a hotel on the northwest corner of Church and Colborne,³ and a James Mink is mentioned as the proprietor of a tavern and livery stable on Toronto Street.⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Riddell, W.R. Interesting notes on Great Britain and Canada with respect to the Negro. Journal of Negro History. Vol. XIII, 1928. p. 201.

³ Guillet. Op. Cit., pp. 64-68.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 64-68.

In fact, many refugees broke away from the more stereotyped, menial tasks to which freedmen in the United States were frequently confined. Blodwen Davies, in stating that the first ice company in the city was started by a Negro "who drew his stock from the mill ponds beyond Bloor Street"¹ was probably referring to T.F. Carey and R.B. Richards, who operated four ice houses in the city during 1854, which they claimed in advertisements " . . . are filled with pure and wholesome spring water ice, from Yorkville . . . The ice will be conveyed by wagon, daily, to places within six miles of Toronto."² Carey also operated a barbershop at 88 King Street West, to which he invited "all who wish to be operated upon in the line of either hair cutting, shaving, hair curling or shampooing."³

Other Negro businessmen whose advertisements frequently appeared in the newspapers were T. Smallwood, who operated a hardware store at 35 Front Street, and A.T. Augusta, who opened a central medical hall and pharmacy on Yonge Street near Elm.⁴

Mrs. M.O. Augusta, the only known coloured business woman of the period, operated a "New Fancy Dry Goods and Dress Making Establishment" on York Street between Richmond and Adelaide, "where will at all times be found the latest Paris and London patterns."⁵

Although it is not an accurate census of the number of Negro refugee males in the city, the Toronto Directory of 1846-47 lists the names of 81 coloured men (most of whom lived west of Yonge Street) as employed in the following occupations: 36 labourers; 34 skilled tradesmen such as shoemakers, carpenters, waiters, tailors, barbers and bricklayers; six proprietor-businessmen, including three innkeepers and restaurant owners, one tobacconist and two storekeepers. A miscellaneous group of five included two ministers,

¹ Davies, Blodwen, Storied York Old and New. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1931. pp. 64-68.

² The Provincial Freeman. June 3, 1854.

³ Ibid. March 16, 1854.

⁴ Ibid. April 14, 1855.

⁵ Ibid. Jan. 11, 1854.

a cabman, one sailor and a teamster.

The Toronto Directories of 1856 and 1859-60 do not indicate the racial identity of individuals listed, so a more specific picture of the occupational groupings of the refugee community during the high influx period of the 1850s is unavailable. However, many of the names noted in the 1846-47 Directory re-appeared in the directories of the 1850s.

A listing of coloured residents recurred in the 1864-65 City Directory, and the names of 141 Negroes were shown. Many refugees returned to the United States following Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which freed the slaves in January, 1863; nevertheless the general occupational picture of the 1860s might provide a clue to the employment pattern of the city's Negroes during the 1850s. Of the 141 coloured persons listed (a few were women) in the 1864-65 Directory, 129 were in the following occupational groups: 57 labourers, 60 skilled tradesmen (including 17 waiters); 10 businessmen and proprietors (including four restaurateurs and two tavern owners); the balance included a minister, a law student, and individuals with unspecified occupations.

In parallel with the development of Negro churches and business was the establishment of a number of organizations created chiefly for the purpose of assisting the refugees in their adjustment to a new milieu. Reference is made in the Abbott Papers¹ to abolitionist grounds organized in 1833 and in 1840. The women formed a separate group, the Queen Victoria Benevolent Society. Some of the activities of these groups are mentioned in The Globe of December 11, 1847 which refers to the sending of a letter to the Honourable W. Badgely, Attorney General of Canada East, by W.R. Abbott and forty-five other Negroes to thank him for his assistance to American abolitionists seeking support in Canada:

We the undersigned coloured citizens of Toronto and vicinity, loyal and dutiful subjects of Her Majesty's just and powerful government, take pleasure in availing ourselves of this opportunity to express to you our sincere thanks for the courteous and Christian-like manner in which you have recently received our late kind and worthy friend, the Rev. Samuel Young of New York, who is known to have been deeply interested in the

¹ Unpublished data from the family records of W.R. Abbott and his son, Dr. A.R. Abbott, made available to the writer by Mr. F. Hubbard and currently in the Toronto Reference library, race documents section.

protection and welfare of our afflicted brethren in the U.S.A. especially as evinced in the case of the innocent and grossly injured and persecuted man who has lately found his way to this asylum, from the midst of republican despotism and slavery . . .

Signed

W.R. Abbott & 45 others.

In 1856 another group, the Liberating Association of Toronto, was established to "assist the weary and worn out fugitive that may reach our shore."¹

Nor were cultural activities totally lacking within the refugee community. Mention is made of an organization called The Young Men's Excelsior Literary Association, and Drew maintains that an active debating society existed among the city's coloured population. Although little is known regarding indigenous artistic and musical talent, Miss E. Greenfield, an American artist referred to as "The Black Swan." frequently sang in Toronto, receiving enthusiastic reviews in the local press. The Toronto Daily Patriot on May 11, 1854, referred to her as a "stout, goodlooking coloured lady possessing a sureness of tone and a most marvellous compass of voice."

From all accounts, The Provincial Freeman, with its militant editorial policy and vivid descriptions of church activities, abolitionist groups and the small business class, recording a history that would otherwise have been unavailable, was undoubtedly the community's most outstanding achievement. Although plagued by subscription and management problems frequently voiced by its editors, it nevertheless reflected the problems, aspirations and gratitude of a new people in a strange but friendly land. With S.R. Ward, its first editor, and a board of directors which seems to have been all Negro, it produced colourful editorial writers such as Miss M.A. Shadd and W.P. Newman.

The contribution of Mary Ann Shadd, who edited the paper during its existence in Toronto, is particularly noteworthy. Highly literate,

¹ Provincial Freeman. Op. Cit., January 19, 1856.

Miss Shadd was perhaps the first coloured woman on the American continent to establish and edit a weekly newspaper.¹ Many of her relations still live in Dresden, Chatham and Buxton. The newspaper was most explicit in its claims for existence, stating that it wanted to represent the 40,000 Negroes (freedmen, fugitives, wealthy and poor) recently arrived in Canada; to encourage "the right class" to enter Canada, by publishing an account of the country and its advantages; and to develop in Canada a society to deny all assertions regarding the Negro's inability to live with others in civilized society.²

Basically integrationist in its ideology, The Provincial Freeman bitterly fought Negro colonization schemes and what were felt to be dubious refugee aid societies, devoting considerable newspaper space to both. Editors of The Provincial Freeman and The Voice of the Fugitive constantly urged the refugees to avail themselves of training, exhorting them to enter business, agriculture or the professions and devoting wide coverage to Negro students who did well in school.³

Certain Negro-oriented activities were promoted, but refugees were encouraged to dissociate themselves from everything American and to become integrated into every aspect of life in their adopted country.

However, the enthusiasm and gratitude expressed by the fugitives for finding acceptance in Canada were dampened by occasional discriminatory practices and sporadic anti-Negro pronouncements. The Provincial Freeman gave considerable attention to cases of discrimination reported in the province. For example, on June 3, 1854 it denounced the exclusion of Negro children from government (public) schools in an article titled, "Negrophobia in St. Catharines". On August 12, 1854 it reported an indignation meeting held in St. Catharines, where it was charged that omnibuses belonging to the St. Catharines House and the American Hotel excluded Negroes. On September 29,

¹ Ibid., December 1, 1855.

² Ibid., March 25, 1854.

³ In 1855 a Miss Emaline Shadd, a "colored lady", received top honours and the first prize of Five pounds, Ten shillings, along with her class certificate at Toronto's Normal School. Ibid., November 3, 1855.

1855 it stated that a Negro minister from Toronto and his wife, having boarded the American Steamship Lines in Hamilton, were refused entrance to the dining lounge. The December 8, 1855 issue carried a report that the Rev. Israel Campbell, a Windsor Negro, along with other coloured people in the city, was refused the opportunity to bid at a public sale of town lots. And on July 26, 1856 Mrs. M.A. Shadd Carey discussed discrimination in the Chatham schools, charging that Negro students were forced to go to a "one-horse colored school" because of the exclusionary policy of government schools.

It is worth noting that these cases of discrimination against Negroes occurred in the southern parts of the province. Perhaps the absence of segregation and the general acceptance of Negroes in Toronto can be related to the manner in which they entered the city and to the abolitionist groups that quickly helped them get established. The southern cities, close to the American border and terminals of the Underground Railway, drew refugees en masse who formed little colonies outside the cities and became localized in Negro districts within. The migration of Negroes to Toronto, while steady, was never massive, and the newcomers' needs were speedily met.

The early Negro refugees and their descendants contributed a number of distinguished citizens to the province of Ontario: Josiah Henson, formerly of the Dawn settlement; journalists Mary Ann Shadd and H.C. Bibb; Dr. Martin Delang,¹ a Union Army officer aide of John Brown and resident of Chatham; frontier doctor A.S. Shadd,² born and reared in Chatham, who practised medicine in Saskatchewan and ran for the provincial legislature in that province; and numerous business men all distinguished themselves during this period in Canadian History.

¹ London Free Press. August 3, 1957. Article on Dr. M. Delang by Stanley J. Smith.

² From the family records of P. Shadd, Buxton Ontario see also, The Western Producer Saskatchewan, November 14, 1957.

Article, : Frontier Doctor, Alfred Schmith Shadd by Grant McEwan.

The Abbott Family

Earlier in this paper we quoted a letter signed by W R. Abbott and others. Perhaps the wealthiest Negro in the province was his father, Dr. A. R. Abbott, who fled Virginia and settled in Toronto in 1835. He started a tobacco shop in Toronto, then invested his savings in real estate and built numerous homes for rental purposes in Hamilton, Dundas and Toronto. He was also an active abolitionist, founder of the colored Wesleyan Church and a financial backer of the Wilberforce Institute which was established, after the demise of the Dawn settlement, for the education of Negro youth.

W R. Abbott's son, Dr. A. R. Abbott, was born on April 7, 1837 and died on December 29, 1913. He was a Licentiate of the Medical Board of Upper Canada in 1861, Primary Bachelor of Medicine University of Toronto, 1867; Member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; Member, Ontario Dominion Medical Association; Ex-surgeon, United States Army; for three years in charge of Camp Baker Hospital, Washington, D C.; and for some time acting resident physician at Toronto General Hospital and Coroner for the County of Kent, Ontario.

After practicing in Chatham, Dundas and Oakville, he retired for 15 years. While in Chatham he was president of the High School Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce Educational Institute. Always deeply interested in problems pertaining to Negroes, he was instrumental in having the separate (racially) schools abolished in Chatham. He was very much interested in writing and was assistant editor of the Chatham Planet, the Dundas Banner, and in later years of the New York Age.

Dr. Abbott was a member of the Canadian Institute, Toronto, and spent considerable time studying astronomy and natural history. At the close of the Civil War he resigned as surgeon in charge of Camp Baker Hospital and returned to Canada. In 1894 he and his family moved to Chicago. While there he was asked, owing to his experience in hospital work during the war, to assume the duties of surgeon in charge of the New Provident Hospital. After a few years he resigned that position and returned to Toronto and lived a private life, spending much of his time writing articles for papers and

magazines on anything interesting or beneficial to Negroes.

Dr. Abbott was a member of St. George's Anglican Church (Toronto), was connected with the Canadian Home Circle and was an active member and officer of the York Pioneers. He was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of the Commanding Officer of the Dept. of New York Grand Army of the Republic.

Population Decline

The Negro population in Ontario reached its peak of numerical growth and organizational activity in the decade of the 1850s and began to decline in the 1860s. The American Civil War, the supposed benefits of the Reconstruction Period, a desire to reunite broken families, and a belief that greater economic opportunity, in general, lay south of the border, all combined to weaken the structure of the refugee communities, not only during the 1860s, but thereafter. For example, while the Toronto community's population was estimated to have been 1,000 during the 1850s, by 1861 only 510 Negroes were left in the city--a figure that barely fluctuated for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The exodus of the coloured population from Ontario during the 1860s is reflected nationally as well, with the national census reporting a general decrease of Negroes in Canada from the original estimate of thirty-five to forty thousand in 1851, to an enumerated figure of 21,394 in 1871.

Indeed, very little is known regarding the history of the Ontario Negro communities after 1865, and research in this area is still to be done.¹

Perhaps the best indication of what happened to the Negro communities in the latter part of the nineteenth century can be found in the following description of the Toronto situation by Dr. A.R. Abbott in an article to the New York Age:

¹ Research should especially continue on the few important public figures of the late 19th century. Delos Rogers Davis, K.C. First Negro lawyer in Canada who practiced in the Windsor and Chatham area during the 1880s and 1890s and W.P. Hubbard, for 15 years an alderman and controller (1880s and 1890s) in Toronto and acting mayor of Toronto in 1904.

The constant drain to which our population has been subjected since the close of the Civil War precludes the possibility of any very great increase in wealth or numbers. Our youth evince a strong disposition to cross the borderline as soon as they acquire sufficient knowledge and experience to make a living. In this way we are impoverished and you are correspondingly benefitted. By the process of absorption and expatriation the color line will eventually fade out in Canada. There are two churches, Methodist and Baptist, and several fraternal and benevolent societies. Outside of these distinctly race organizations, nearly all the religious, civil and military organizations have Afro-American representatives enjoying the fullest freedom of intercourse, and occupying in some instances positions of trust and responsibility.¹

Dr. Abbott did not anticipate the British West Indians and Americans brought to Toronto by railroad and industrial interests, particularly after the turn of the century. Although this population increase was responsible for a resurgence of organizational activities, especially among British West Indian Negroes, it was nevertheless an insignificant fraction of the city's population and did little to hinder the processes of "absorption, expatriation and integration" which continue today.

SECOND PERIOD: 1911-1945

Several developments completely changed the nature of the original Negro population in Ontario between 1911 and 1945.

First, the introduction of British West Indians by industrial and commercial elements added to the Negro community a new and somewhat different population sub-group. This change in population structure took place almost exclusively in Toronto, while the Windsor and Hamilton coloured populations remained basically static. Between 1911 and 1921, the Toronto Negro population increased from 468 to 1,236. Although Negroes from the United States contributed to this increase, the majority were undoubtedly British West Indians from Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad.

¹ Abbott Papers. Op. Cit.

TABLE
Negro Population in 11 Ontario cities--1911-51

	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1951</u>
Brantford	139	116	89	77	61
Chatham	-	519	436	-	-
Guelph	91	44	50	-	-
Hamilton	304	375	-	305	258
Kitchener	10	33	5	-	-
London	213	209	-	224	181
Niagara Falls	-	-	112	-	-
Ottawa	25	38	26	42	10
St. Catharines	-	154	91	153	163
Toronto	468	1,236	1,344	2,101	1,748*
Windsor	1,018	1,028	967	1,093	1,304

Source: Census of Canada 1911, - 21, - 31, - 41
 The 1951 Census figures are shown by special
 permission of D.B.S.
 The Negro population in 1951 and 1961 census reports
 is not shown separately, but is included in an
 "all other" category.

* Metropolitan Toronto

In the period from 1911 to 1921, the Canadian government admitted 1,223 Negroes from overseas.¹ This figure is not representative of total Negro immigration to Canada, for no official count was kept of American Negroes entering this country prior to 1926.

West Indians were imported to work the mines in Nova Scotia, the shipyards in Collingwood and Halifax, and to serve as porters, waiters and chefs on the expanding railroad system. They were also employed tending boilers and furnaces on ships that plied the Great Lakes.

¹ Hill. Op. Cit., p. 40.

The majority of American Negroes coming to Canada during this period were railroad men, but two other streams of Americans also found their way to Canadian soil--professional athletes and professional musicians. Curly Christian, Canada's only quadruple war amputee, came to Canada prior to World War I as a professional baseball player and decided to stay. Vaudeville acts and shows, including "Shuffling Along" with Florence Mills (which successfully played in Ontario during the 1930s) lost some of its personnel whenever it visited Toronto.¹

A second development was that railroading became a major occupation for Negroes in Toronto. Though not highly lucrative--\$40 to \$80 per month in the years prior to Union organization--it was a stable type of employment that allowed (with tips) the regularly employed porter to provide for his family above a level of marginal existence. This new Negro working class was not a depressed group, nor was it considered by the host community to be dependent and undesirable. On the whole, porter-ing was looked upon as an honourable way of life and was generally recommended by father to son.

The three parts of the Negro community in Toronto have been described as "old line" native Canadian Negro. American Negro and British West Indian.² The last were by far the most chauvinistic racial group. The seeds of a new antagonism between members of the Toronto coloured community began to develop.

The third and most significant development during this period was the establishment of a number of new West Indian organizations, strongly influenced by the Black Nationalism of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican whose career is dealt with later in this survey.

Garvey visited Montreal and Toronto twice during this period and many individuals, nurtured in a predominantly Negro milieu in the West Indies,

¹ Ibid., p. 48.

² Ibid., p. 45, 46.

considered him to be a "Black Messiah", the symbol of a new racial identification.

Strong attempts were made to arouse race consciousness. A retired porter from Barbados observed:

Garvey brought a new aggressiveness to the British Negro. He represented the first real leadership the Negro had seen, and he gave Negroes a social and economic consciousness they had never known... Before Garvey came in, the whites had been very successful in setting the Negroes against each other. They told the British Negro that he was superior to the native Canadian and American Negro, and they told the same thing to the others. Garvey showed the Negroes that this was the white man's scheme in Canada as in the whole world, and that all Negroes should unite to fight it.¹

The first important organization among the West Indians was the Garvey-oriented Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. It started with 13 members and by 1927 had grown sufficiently to purchase a building on College Street. The group tried, with no success, to encourage native "old line" Canadian Negro families to use the premises.

Canadian black nationalism was categorically rejected by American Negroes and native Canadians, who felt they had nothing to gain by an acceptance of Garvey's ideology. Furthermore, non-West Indians condemned the members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association for having a charter that excluded whites. Although honorary status was quickly given to a white member of the community, Americans and native Canadian Negroes remained aloof.

Nethertheless the U.N.I.A. hall became a social centre for the West Indian community of the late 1920s, '30s and the early 1940s, and was the scene of teas, forums, debates, plays and lectures. While the major event of the year among Windsor and Hamilton Negroes was Emancipation Day ceremonies and parades, the Toronto West Indian community staged a mammoth picnic to Port Dalhousie every July with approximately 1,000 Negroes in attendance.

The first generation West Indians also started the Commonwealth

¹ Ibid., p. 342.

Consumers Co-operative Buying Club, out of which grew the current Toronto United Negro Association with its credit union. Their children participated in such groups as the Negro Youth Club, the Young Men's Negro Association, the Coleridge Taylor Musical Society, the Hornests Athletic Club, the Dunbar Literary Association and the successful West Indian Trading Association.

The major institutions and businesses owned and operated by Negroes were also located in the same geographic area (three coloured churches, U.N.I.A. Hall, a barbershop and two shoe repair shops.)

During the Second Period practically all of the city's West Indian Negro population was concentrated in Wards 4 and 5 of Toronto.

The Toronto Welfare Council's study of a local Negro organization, the Home Service Association, designated wards 4 and 5 as the primary areas of Negro residence:

We believe that there is evidently a tendency for the Negro people, though scattered all over Toronto, to concentrate in that area between Simcoe and Dovercourt, south of Bloor, particularly between Spadina and Bathurst, south of College. It would seem that one-third to one-half of the total population are resident in this district.¹

However, there were also streets within this area which, although racially integrated, were known to contain a high proportion of West Indian families between 1920-1950; for example Sullivan, Lippincott, Augusta, Leonard and Wales streets.

Key West Indian families, recognized as leaders, kept a social life going and spearheaded the new organizations. Among the youth there seemed to be a form of rigid social control: racially mixed marriages were taboo, Negro girls were "respected", and a cohesive West Indian community was maintained until after World War II.

¹ Toronto Welfare Council, A Study of Home Service Association, 1941, Unpublished. This was the same district in which the fugitive slaves settled in Toronto during the 1850s. See Hill. Op. Cit., pp. 36-40.

Despite their strong adherence to and belief in Negro organizations, many West Indians maintained a strong affiliation with the Anglican church. This ambivalence may have been a factor in the eventual crumbling of a drive to develop a Negro sub-culture, for the affairs of the integrated churches, schools and social organizations began permeating the lives of even the first generation, Garvey-oriented West Indians. But the alienation and indifference of the second generation, who developed a value system in conflict with that of the older group, were to have a most telling effect by the Third Period of development. Gradually the daily experiences of these children--who lacked certain images of West Indian society and were too young to appreciate Marcus Garvey--contributed to the decline of West Indian racial chauvinism.

The expansion of the Canadian economy after World War II, with its corresponding increase in job opportunities, greatly affected the development of the Toronto Negro community and altered to a lesser extent the social situation of Negroes in the Windsor region.¹

Toronto Negroes became more integrated in the city's residential areas, in its religious and social institutions and in employment. Simultaneously, new organizations came into being in an attempt to cater for an emerging business and professional class of some strength. From this new class have come a number of highly educated, qualified Negroes who are currently contributing to the educational, economic and cultural life of the province.

The Toronto Community Since 1950

By the 1950s the Toronto Negro community had grown to an estimated 7,000 persons, although the Census enumerated a total of only 6,926 persons in

¹ The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario--a report (unpublished) submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Windsor, December 1965, p. 7.

all of Ontario in 1951.¹ By 1965, newspaper estimates placed the coloured population in the city at over 10,000.²

There is every reason to question the usefulness of population statistics relating to people of Negroid origin, not only in Toronto but in the whole of Canada. Serious problems are encountered in the definition of ethnic origin used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The practice of first establishing the language spoken by the paternal ancestor undoubtedly placed a large number of people of Negroid origin in the 1951 and '61 Census in the English origin category. For example, numerous people in Montreal classed as Negro in the 1941 Census were returned as English in 1951.³ As far back as 1931, the Census had difficulty in arriving at a count of Negroes in Toronto, reporting 1,344. However, the Home Service Association conducted a sample survey in 1941 with the help of Negro churches and the Welfare Council, and 4,000 Negroes were enumerated.⁴ This is all the more interesting when it is noted that the Census listed 2,010 Negroes in Toronto during the same year.

Although some research has already been conducted dealing with the anomalies of the Census and with the ambivalence of people of Negroid origin who deal with Census enumerators, more detailed studies of these phenomena are needed.⁵

By the late 1950s many Negro families residing in the downtown district of wards 4 and 5 had accumulated enough money to move out. They bought property throughout Metropolitan Toronto. Numerous families moved to Scarborough, and others bought homes in Etobicoke, North York, York Township and Forest Hill.

In 1957 the residential location of 700 Negro families, representing approximately 4,000 individuals, was studied, and they were found to be

¹ Refer to p. 26.

² The Toronto Daily Star, January 6, 1966, p. 7.

³ Hill, Op. Cit., p. 49.

⁴ Ibid., p. 59.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 59-74.

widely dispersed, living in all 13 of Metropolitan Toronto's municipalities.¹ The movement of Negroes to suburbia took place without serious incident, excitement or notice. Perhaps subdividers, contractors and real estate men were willing to do business with Negroes because the latter were small in number.

Not only were they accepted as residents in the suburban areas, but in many cases Negroes were active members of home and school organizations, service clubs and the neighbourhood churches. In one case, a Negro advertising executive encountered difficulty in buying a lot in an exclusive Etobicoke district. It was ironic, as he pointed out, that his brother, as well as several other Negroes, owned property in a number of high-priced Etobicoke districts and had lived there without incident for quite a few years.

However, it is undoubtedly true, as suggested by members of a 1961 public deputation to the Ontario Government, that racial discrimination in the leasing of apartments does exist.² Although serious, as shown by the numerous cases that have come before the Ontario Human Rights Commission between 1962-65,³ it does not take on the oppressive and restrictive features associated with the "black ghettos" of large northern cities of the United States.

With respect to the rental of apartments, the Ontario Human Rights Commission has instituted a number of programs to allay the apprehensions of landlords concerning occupancy by minority group members. But it is not the landlords alone whose minds have to be changed; minority group members themselves frequently assume barriers to exist where, in fact, they do not. A Negro professional man who secured an apartment in a fashionable district in Toronto was asked by a more skeptical member of his race, "What trick did you use to get this place?" to which he replied, "I simply went in and

¹ Ibid., pp. 75-77.

² Daniel G. Hill, "Discrimination in Apartment Buildings," Building Management (a journal for property owners, developers and managers), April 1963, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 28-30.

³ Approximately 500 cases of discrimination have come before the Ontario Human Rights Commission between the years 1962-65. Ninety dealt with housing problems.

applied. Is there anything wrong with that?"

A highly successful real estate firm operated in midtown Toronto is owned and managed by a West Indian Negro, whose business is carried on primarily in the white community. There are also numerous Negroes employed as real estate agents for large firms in the city.

Accompanying the exodus of numerous Negro families from the downtown area was the lingering death of many of the old West Indian organizations and the diminution of the role and stature of the city's three small Negro churches.

In 1955, a survey of 400 churches showed a distinct pattern of integration in the city's predominantly white churches.¹ One hundred and two such churches indicated that they had 750 Negro members or adherents, while all three Negro churches (African Methodist Episcopal, British Methodist Episcopal and the historic First Baptist) showed a combined membership of no more than 500 persons.

Churches such as these may continue in Toronto and other cities for a long time. In early Toronto refugee Negroes were accepted and welcomed in the white churches, but some nevertheless formed "race churches" of their own. Religion was one of the very few activities other than work permitted the slave, and his church became the single institution which the Negro could call his own. There are still Negroes who seek to preserve the Negro church as a means of self expression and status achievement, including leadership.

The position of the Negro church in Toronto is best exemplified by the following situation: the rector of an Anglican Church located within a one-mile radius of all three Negro churches, reported a membership of 75 Negro families, a number of whom were ushers, sang in the choir and were otherwise engaged in the church's many activities.

Feelings of anxiety about colour discrimination are not basic deterrents to Toronto Negroes in their choice of religious affiliation.

¹ Op. Cit., Hill, pp. 138-140.

They are confronted with a multiplicity of churches that willingly accept them, and in this milieu the Negro church has been forced, unwillingly, to compete. In Toronto, particularly, the coloured clergy have lacked the "advantages" of the colour barrier and a "black belt" that have given the Negro clergy in the United States and other parts of Canada a built-in guarantee of their churches' survival.

With the exception of the Toronto United Negro Credit Union, which claimed a membership of approximately 400,¹ most of the early West Indian social and community organizations became extinct or were virtually static by the 1960s. The 1960s also saw the decline of the Home Service Association, the only Negro agency that was part of Toronto's United Appeal organization.

At least five new groups have emerged in the place of these older organizations in recent years: the Canadian Negro Women's Club, organized in the early 1950s and the best established of all the postwar Negro organizations; the Jamaican-Canadian Association, founded in 1963 to assist the numerous new British West Indian immigrants coming into the city; the Toronto Negro Business and Professional Men's Association, a service group interested in raising the educational standards of the city's Negro youth and in developing their interest in the contributions of Negroes to Canadian life; the Ebo Society, consisting of young West Indian Negroes active in music, art, drama and literature, who seek to give the Canadian Negro an identity through the arts; and the University Negro Alumni Association, formed in 1965 as a social group and an investment society. Twenty-five other small social, fraternal and union organizations also exist.

These new organizations, some of whose programs and activities are still not well known, have arisen primarily to serve the emerging Negro professional elite and the burgeoning West Indian community.

¹ Ontario Credit Union News, official publication of the Ontario Credit Union League Limited, Vol. 28, No. 1, January, 1966, p. 12.

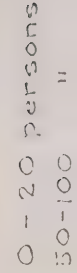
The last complete survey conducted to determine the size of the Negro professional community was made in 1956.¹ It showed that approximately seventeen Negroes owned businesses, and some fifty Negroes were engaged in the professions. Although more recent statistics are lacking, members of the Toronto Negro Business and Professional Men's Association estimate that there are now well over one hundred registered nurses, approximately ten lawyers, ten doctors and dentists, over twenty public and high school teachers, and five university professors, as well as twenty businessmen who either fully or partially own their establishments.

In recent years, Negroes have filled posts in all levels of government--federal, provincial and municipal. The severe cutback in railroading employment forced local Negroes to seek other jobs. Many took civil service examinations and were placed in the post office and in numerous branches of the provincial government. Prior to 1960 there were no Negroes on the City of Toronto police force, but by 1965 over a dozen officers, including two coloured women, were members of the force.

By 1966, Negroes held many responsible positions in the city, including the following: Director of Research and Planning of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto; Professional Town Planner on the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board; Producer of a large nationally-televised TV show; District Supervisor of the Unemployment Insurance Commission; Deputy Official Guardian for the Province of Ontario; Supervisor of Adoptions for the Metropolitan Toronto Children's Aid Society; a Vice-Principal of one of the city's largest public schools; Director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Among the members of the Toronto Negro Business and Professional Men's Association there are numerous employees of private engineering, accountancy, chemical and architectural firms.

While the majority of Negroes are undoubtedly in semi-skilled or menial work, there is a sufficient number of Negroes in highly placed positions

¹ Op. Cit., Hill, p. 117



to suggest that well-educated Negroes have in recent years had little difficulty in finding employment commensurate with their training and ability.

Employment in Toronto has not always been so available to Negroes. Leonard Braithwaite, perhaps the most notable public figure among Negroes in Ontario today, would be the first to admit there are difficulties before one becomes a successful lawyer and politician.

Fifteen years ago, Leonard Braithwaite, the young Negro MPP from Etobicoke, and the first colored legislator in the country, probably could not have won his riding. Conservative, upper middle class, and largely middle age, the section of the riding that was heavily populated then was unlikely to vote for a Liberal Negro.

The riding has changed however. There are young couples to the north and the attitudes of the older residents have also undergone subtle changes when it comes to discrimination.

When he graduated from the University of Toronto with a Bachelor of Commerce degree in 1950, Len Braithwaite had a difficult time getting a job. He even had difficulty after he took his Master's degree at Harvard. There just was no place for a Negro in business. He went to Osgoode Hall and became a lawyer. At first practice was slow. By 1960, however, he was elected to the Board of Education and in 1962 won a seat on Etobicoke Council. From there it was only a step, but a big one, to the Ontario Legislature in 1963.¹

Negro-White Relations in Toronto

An area does not become a community merely by having distributed over it a number of people and institutions, or by those people having certain interests in common . . . An area becomes a community only through the common experiences of the people who live in it, resulting in their becoming a cultural group, with traditions, sentiments and attitudes, and memories in common--a focus of belief, feeling and action.²

An assemblage of people of colour in a city does not necessarily constitute a community. By sociological definition, a Negro community does not exist in Toronto. Some Negroes maintain the notion of community, but it is at best a sentimental illusion, a form of wish fulfilment.

¹ The Telegram, Toronto, August 12, 1965, pp. 1 and 3.

² Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, University of Chicago Press, 1955, p. 195.

Toronto Negroes are still basically ambivalent about their organizations. For a number of years they have discussed whether to weld those that currently exist into some type of council, in which the sporadically publicized problems of the city's Negroes could be studied and verbalized. At the same time many individuals feel they should concentrate their efforts in white service clubs, social agency boards, private clubs and other groups in which they have found increasing acceptance. Toronto Negroes (other than "old-line" persons) are active participants in Kiwanis, Lions, the Masons, the YWCA and YMCA, the Orange Lodge, numerous large social welfare agency boards and in many professional and business organizations, including dentistry, medicine, architecture and real estate.

In the United States, geographical and social isolation of the Negro community has strengthened the social structure of the group, allowed for the evolution of patterns of folk behaviour, and provided, in the dominant white society, an outgroup against which most resentment can be directed. Life in the American sub-culture has what Hylan Lewis termed "a race-ridden character", into which a white man can never be thoroughly trusted or incorporated.¹ Whatever can be said of the adverse effects of the Negro community on the individual--those oppressive, caste-like features isolating the Negro and causing forms of psychological and social malaise in both the dominant and subordinate groups--there is, nevertheless, a level of social cohesion, in-group solidarity and belongingness, buttressed by formal institutions and informal group life that is the very heart of the ethnic community. Within this matrix the American Negro has found some enhancement of an otherwise deprived "social ego". Considered inferior by the outer-world, he seeks status and self-esteem in the Negro community through participation in the maze of churches, clubs, benevolent and fraternal organizations that interlock and proliferate in the Negro ghetto.

¹ Hylan Lewis, The Blackways of Kent, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955, p. 195.

In Toronto the lack of social barriers makes it possible for a Negro to derive his status from the broader, more general society. But while the symbols of integration and acceptance are manifest, withdrawal, rejection and racial self-hate are frequently evident in certain strata of the Negro population.

These symptoms cannot totally be explained by Robert E. Park's concept of marginality.¹ Park shows that the light-skinned mulatto derives marginal status by rejecting the Negro community or remaining on its periphery while unable to fully penetrate the surrounding white society. Thus he exists in a state of constant anxiety and conflict.

Contrary to the Windsor experience, the Toronto Negro is deeply involved in the primary and secondary institutions of the dominant white society. In terms of overt social participation, he is not marginal. But despite his outward acceptance, he is frequently ambivalent and confused about his own ethnicity, about Negro society in general, and about the meaning of group identification. For example, many native "old-line" families have no desire to participate in or encourage formal Negro group life. They reject any identification of themselves with a group of Negroes who are poorer than they and are resident in downtown Toronto.

Despite an increasing tendency towards inter-racial marriage, the stigma of Negroidness remains, and occasional incidents remind coloured citizens that they are still regarded as Negroes.

The newer group of young adults, many of whom are children of West Indians, though sometimes nostalgic regarding their early childhood experiences, have basically abandoned the organized Negro group life that existed earlier. They now maintain contact with Negroes primarily through informal life in the "light grey" social world of mixed Negro and white associates.

The American Negro new arrival, long accustomed to the confines of a Negro community, generally prefers to identify himself with white social

¹ Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950, Part IV, The Marginal Man, pp. 345-397.

institutions. In many cases there is a gradual dimming of his pervasive race-consciousness, and any suggestion of formal group identification is associated with social regression.

The process of integration is summarized in the comments of Miss Edith Ferguson, a social worker, charged with studying the reasons for the decline of the only Negro United Appeal agency in the city. Although a number of new organizations have emerged since Miss Ferguson made her observations, her points are apposite to the present situation.

Negro organizations are suffering because there is not sufficient strong leadership . . . The person who has a natural talent for leadership is also an ambitious and enterprising person, who is likely to achieve vocational success. He must work to succeed in his chosen vocation, because for him the road is a little harder. If he moves into a position where his colleagues or competitors are white, he must also work hard to maintain his position, and this leaves less time for community affairs. Contacts in the general community are more likely to be useful to him and these he cannot neglect.

As he improves his position he is likely to purchase a home in a good residential district. Here, recent experience has been that he is invited and welcomed into the local church and the local Home and School Association. These invitations, as a Negro, he cannot ignore. This is a challenge and an opportunity, and once in, he feels he must be a credit to his race. Thus he is caught up in the affairs of the local neighbourhood, and his talents are lost to the Negro organizations. Some, who have achieved much satisfaction from breaking through the colour barrier, are reluctant to return to the more frustrating task of dealing with Negro problems. Those who are left with the burden feel that they have been deserted, and that he has "gone over" to the other side.¹

Integration and withdrawal are accompanied, especially among Negroes in the upper socio-economic levels, by a desire to minimize or ignore incidents of race conflict or prejudice that sporadically occur in Toronto. They appear unwilling to discuss such matters or to support those engaged in combating discrimination. A well-known professional Negro, a native of Toronto, remarked ruefully that in his publicized battle with apartment house owners

¹ E. Ferguson, Report to the Home Service Management Committee of University Settlement, April 14, 1960, p. 13 mimeographed.

who refused to rent to him, he found it curious that Negro friends neither supported, complimented, nor even discussed his efforts.

It is also significant that Toronto Negroes have not found it necessary to organize and promote the type of protest organizations which have been formed by the coloured populations in Windsor and Amherstburg.

Although there is reluctance to discuss racial incidents and discrimination, some interest has been shown in Negro history. Until recently, when the Toronto Negro Business and Professional Men's Association had a successful historical exhibit, Toronto Negroes were generally unaware of the life of early Canadian Negroes. Having no recognized culture heroes of their own, they had been prone to ignore their racial background. A more thorough knowledge of their nineteenth century predecessors has already given a new dignity to many of the city's coloured residents.

Perhaps the lack of information or reference in school textbooks regarding the history and social contributions of Negroes is related to this problem of Negro identity. The omission shows an unconscious bias among educators and publishers against the roles of smaller minorities in the country. Clinard's discussion of the situation in the United States is relevant to Canada as well:

Most school textbooks contain little deliberate bias, but there is often subtle discrimination through the omission of certain material dealing with minorities. The history of America, at least in school textbooks, is largely the history of the majority group.¹ This constitutes a basic form of discrimination.

WINDSOR

Negro leaders in the Windsor region, faced with greater discrimination than Torontonians in housing and employment, developed in the 1950s and early 1960s several protest organizations which effectively contributed to the inauguration and later refinement of Ontario's Human Rights Code.

¹ Marshall B. Clinard, The Sociology of Deviant Behaviour, New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957, p. 467.

The socio-economic position of Negroes in Windsor, when compared with the position of Negroes in Toronto, shows a number of significant differences. A study completed in December, 1965 for the Ontario Human Rights Commission by the Department of Sociology, University of Windsor, is the major source of information for this part of our paper. It has been edited and re-written for inclusion here with the permission of the Ontario Human Rights Commission and Dr. Rudolf Helling, Chairman of the Sociology Department, University of Windsor.

Although other population groups in Essex County increased considerably between 1911 and 1961, the number of Negroes has remained relatively static. In fact, the percentage of Negroes in the total population has decreased with each successive census report. This is especially evident when population statistics regarding Negroes are compared with those for the Windsor French Canadian Group.

A COMPARISON OF THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH AND
NEGRO POPULATION IN ESSEX COUNTY, ONTARIO

Census Years	Total Population	French Number	Population Percentage	Negro Number	Population Percentage
1911	67,547	20,733	31.2	1,866	2.76
1921	102,575	26,017	25.6	1,829	1.78
1931	159,780	33,039	20.6	1,601	1.00
1941	174,230	38,174	22.0	1,699	.98
1951	217,150	No comparison data available.			
1961	258,218	55,337	21.5	2,402	.93

Source: The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario--A Report Submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Unpublished. p. 6.

Whereas the French population increased 2.6 times in the last 50 years, the Negro population grew only 1.28 times. Migration to other parts of Canada and to Detroit could be seen as the principal explanation of the low growth rate. The 1961 Census of Canada reported 1,560 Negroes residing in Windsor, none in Riverside, six in Sandwich East and 156 in Sandwich West. This left a balance of 680 Negroes in the remainder of Essex County. There were hardly any Negroes in the other towns and villages of Metropolitan Windsor. At the present time Negroes are to be found in Census tracts 1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 25 and 36. However, the greatest concentration of Negroes is on McDougal Street, between the

Detroit River and Giles Boulevard. About 250 Negro families are believed to live in this area.¹

The Position of Negroes in the Community

Negroes in Windsor are at the base of the city's social structure. In many cities the base is occupied by the newcomer to the city, the rural migrant or the international immigrant. In the United States, for example, it can be argued that the underprivileged position of Northern Negroes is a consequence not only of their racial position but also of their status as recent arrivals in the cities. In Windsor such an argument cannot be maintained. Windsor Negroes have lived in this area longer than many other groups, with the exception of French and a few English Canadians. Even newcomers have advanced more rapidly than long established Negroes. Other factors, including racial discrimination, account for the low socio-economic position of Negroes in Windsor.

Whereas the occupational categories of other groups form a continuum from unskilled worker to white collar employee and professional worker, the Negro categories have breaks in their continuity. There is a disproportionately high concentration at the bottom of the occupational scale. In 1947, for example, over 97 per cent of all employed Negroes were classed as common labourers.² In 1951, the Province of Ontario passed the Fair Employment Practices Act and with the implementation of this Act, the position of Negroes improved. According to the Windsor Council on Group Relations:

"Qualified employees of several races, nationalities and religious beliefs have been given positions of responsibility and authority in some of the largest factories in Windsor."³

The Community Structure

Human Rights legislation undoubtedly has prevented racial discrimination in certain areas. The question remains, however, as to whether

¹ The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario--a report (unpublished) submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Windsor, December 1965, p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 9.

³ Ibid., p. 9.

the legislation has had an impact on the overall position of Negroes in the community. Although some improvement over 1947 is evident, there is still an under-representation in the higher ranks of the occupational pyramid and an over-representation at the base. The employment of Negroes is concentrated in the automotive industries and in small service-type companies. Of the fifteen largest industries--using tax assessment as the criterion of measurement--nine have no Negro employees.¹ None of the 15 companies employs a Negro in a managerial capacity. One company employs a Negro in a professional role. Among the smaller companies, two Negro executives work in manufacturing plants. The City solicitor is a Negro and, until very recently, the Director of the Social Planning Council was a Negro professional social worker. There are also four medical doctors, a dentist, 22 registered nurses and one physiotherapist belonging to the small professional group. More significantly, one city alderman and a member of the Windsor School Board are Negroes.²

There appears to be unreserved acceptance of Negroes in the educational field and there are currently two university professors, six high school and ten elementary school teachers employed on a full-time basis.³

Outside Metropolitan Windsor, problems of de facto school segregation (usually the result of residential segregation), as well as employment discrimination, existed until very recently in some of the rural areas of Essex and Kent Counties.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 10.

² Interview with President of the Windsor Guardian Club, Dr. H. McCurdy, January 7, 1966 and based on an informal survey taken by this club.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Marvin Schiff, "End School Segregation, Essex County Negroes Demand". The Globe & Mail, Toronto, Monday, November 9, 1964, and see "Trouble at SS 11", The Globe & Mail, Toronto, Tuesday, November 10, 1964.

None of the traditional churches in Windsor advocates racial segregation or discrimination, although local Negroes have felt that they are not welcomed by some of the fundamentalist white sects. Nevertheless the majority of church-going Negroes attend one of six Negro churches which together claim less than ten per cent of the Negro population as members. Windsor has two Baptist, two Methodist and two Spiritualist denominations among the Negro churches. These churches serve as the most important single units of social cohesion. They are social centres as well as places of worship.

Critics of Negro clergymen have claimed that these church leaders have not supported any organized activity to promote better race relations, to curb racial discrimination or to put an end to racial segregation in housing-accommodation or public worship. Some of the critics go beyond this statement and add that the churches have not provided effective leadership in combating delinquency in the Negro community, in providing recreational facilities and in working with community groups towards the overall improvement of the race. Critics also claim that the two larger denominational groups have rejected overtures by the predominantly white or provincial bodies of their own religious persuasion to become integrated into the national organizations.

Negro clergymen, on the other hand, claim that their approach is the only sensible one in a segregated society. They claim that they have provided community services when nobody else cared for Negroes. They also state that they have provided jobs and favours for the members of their congregations and have alleviated cases of poverty and hardship.

Negroes in Metropolitan Windsor have experienced housing discrimination, with the majority of them living in a traditionally Negro area. Opposition to Negroes moving into previously all-white neighbourhoods has, since the outlawing of restrictive covenants, been primarily on the informal level. Some white residents have used petitions and other forms of pressure to frighten Negroes away. These petitions have no legal standing, serving primarily as discouragement and intimidation. It takes a great deal of determination to resist these pressures. Whereas extra-legal pressures have formerly been more evident than now, there is still some agitation when a Negro family moves into a previously all-white neighbourhood.

It is more difficult for Negroes to rent accommodation than to purchase

a house. In general, Windsor has an undersupply of rental units. It is difficult for even a white person to rent a dwelling. Negroes, the most visible racial minority, are the least likely to succeed in such a competitive market. Landlords can choose between several applicants, which places Negroes at a distinct disadvantage. In 1963 the Guardian Club, a Negro anti-discrimination organization, conducted a survey which indicated that the overwhelming majority of 26 apartment owners or managers had refused to accept Negro tenants.¹ A number of landlords or managers were doubtful about accepting Negroes. There have been numerous cases in Windsor of rejection of Negro seekers of apartments.

Until World War II, Windsor had a colour bar in public accommodation. Negroes were not always accepted in theatres, restaurants, barber shops, beauty shops or taverns. After 1947, the situation improved gradually, leading to acceptance, but with occasional refusal of services. Local legislation, the Fair Accommodation Practices Act, and the subsequent Human Rights Code have considerably improved the position of Negroes.

Social interaction between Negroes and Whites depends to a great degree on the social standing of those who come into contact with each other. At one end of the scale are Negroes with college degrees, professional standing or in independent positions. Their interaction patterns with whites are on the basis of equality, with avoidance of whites who discriminate. At the other end of the scale are Negro labourers, domestics or persons on the welfare roll.

Those on the upper end of the scale suffer few of the petty annoyances which are part of the daily routine of lower class minority group members. These annoyances are not always determined by racial factors. Frequently they are a consequence of the social class positions of Negroes or Whites. Discrimination at the professional level, if practiced at all, is primarily of the polite, evasive type. Discrimination at the lower class level is more abusive and of the vituperative type. There is some social distance between Negro professionals and non-professionals, and as a consequence, rank and file members of the Negro community fear that the professionals do not understand their problems. Negro professionals are in constant contact with the white community, to a large

¹ Op. Cit., Ontario Human Rights Commission--Windsor Study, p. 15

extent with their occupational peers, but much of the life of non-professionals is spent in segregated activity. Besides this fact, leadership roles are differently understood by the two groups. Old line leadership has been concerned with appeasement of the white community and with appeal to the pride and solidarity of the segregated group, while a new professional leadership group advocates racial integration at all levels of community life. The new leaders try to exploit provisions of the law and to persuade those who are reluctant to support their objective. They are action-oriented and they challenge established patterns of racial segregation.

Two relatively new Negro organizations, with no counterparts elsewhere in the Province, seek to improve the socio-economic position of Negroes in southwestern Ontario: The Guardian Club in Windsor and the South Essex Citizens Advancement Association of Amherstburg. Although there are at least twenty other Negro fraternal, religious and social groups in Windsor, the task of social action and militancy has devolved upon these two groups.

The Guardian Club began when a group of young Negro men and women met informally during the summer of 1962 and discussed some of the problems facing Essex County Negroes. Led by a young Negro biologist, a professor at the University of Windsor, the group agreed that while the Negro's position had improved significantly since the war, substantial discrimination still existed in recreation, employment and housing.

The group decided that these and other problems had to be studied and forcefully dealt with by Negro citizens. It was noted, somewhat to the dismay of older leaders in the coloured community, that there was no organization among Negroes designed to accomplish these purposes.

It was therefore decided to establish an organization whose purpose would be to deal specifically with matters of social justice. At its first organizational meeting the group agreed on the following tasks:

- A) To undertake a programme of education to inform Negro citizens of the provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code and other legislation protecting their rights.
- B) To investigate incidents of discrimination and, where justified, to encourage the individuals involved to file official complaints

with the appropriate Federal or Provincial Government Agency.¹

In the three short years of its existence, the Guardian Club can be credited with a number of achievements. Realizing that approximately 13 per cent of all complaints of discrimination registered with the Ontario Human Rights Commission came from Windsor, the club surveyed apartment house discrimination and found that only three of 27 large apartment buildings would accept Negroes.² They reported the findings of their survey and other infractions of the Code to the Ontario Government. Some of the cases referred to the government culminated in public hearings provided for in the Ontario Human Rights Code. These hearings, along with a petition from the Club supported by other groups in the province, were greatly responsible for a change in 1965 of the Ontario Human Rights Code dealing with apartment houses. Prior to 1965 the Code prohibited discrimination in apartment buildings with more than six units. The 1965 amendment makes the provisions of the Code applicable to buildings with more than three units.

During this same period the Guardian Club requested the University of Windsor to examine its student housing policy because a number of African and Asian students had experienced difficulty in obtaining lodgings.

Realizing the need to work with other groups in the community to improve human relations, the Guardian Club assisted in the establishment, in April 1964, of the Windsor and District Institute for Human Rights, comprising a number of school, church, service clubs and other social organizations in Windsor.

The club also organized an historical exhibit in February 1965, showing the history of the Negroes in Essex and Kent Counties in the 19th century. The idea for the exhibit came from an earlier exhibition held in 1963 by Toronto's Negro Business and Professional Men's Association.

Held at the University of Windsor, the exhibit contributed greatly to an improved knowledge by Negroes and Whites alike of life in the large refugee

¹ Op. Cit., Windsor Guardian Club, Minutes and Correspondence studied with permission of President.

² Op. Cit., Ontario Human Rights Commission--Windsor Study, P. 15.

settlements in Essex and Kent Counties during the 1800s. One of the main aims of the exhibit was to enlighten Negro youth in Windsor about their heritage and encourage their self-improvement.

Negroes outside Metropolitan Centres

The South Essex Citizens Advancement Association, formed in late 1963, has many of the objectives and purposes of the Guardian Club, but operates exclusively for the few Negroes who live in the semi-rural areas near Windsor-- particularly in the towns of Amherstburg and Harrow. Led by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Ontario Provincial Council of the Union of Carpenters and Joiners of America, who is perhaps the most highly placed Negro union official in Canada, the group started out with 50 coloured families who banded together to object to blackface acts presented in the local Amherstburg High School.¹ SECAA successfully argued that blackface acts stereotyped Negroes, were atypical, and did not assist in furthering better relations between white and coloured students. The acts were discontinued.

The group's next goal was the abolition of an obviously inferior, unsanitary, all-coloured (in a coloured community) school in Colchester Township.² Parents of children at the school, members of SECAA, threatened the Provincial Government and the local school board that they would picket the school and withdraw their children if the youngsters were not bussed out and transferred to a better--all-white--school nearby. With significant press support and free legal assistance from the Canadian Labour Congress, the group won its case, the school was closed and the children were transferred.

The latest triumph for SECAA came in August 1965. The citizens of Amherstburg were faced with the burning of Ku Klux Klan-type cross on Amherstburg's main street and the desecration of the local Negro church by local hoodlums.

¹ Human Relations, official journal of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, May-June 1964, Vol. 5, No. 9 "Negro and White parents condemn High School Blackface Performance", p. 10.

² Op. Cit., Globe & Mail, Toronto, November 9th and 10th, 1964.

The cross-burning and desecration were end products of a series of incidents and fights that had been occurring between the white and coloured youth of the town. The town was also beset by constant charges by its coloured population of hostility and discrimination, especially in employment.

Enraged by the desecration of their church and the burning of the cross, the SECAA members held two large protest meetings and called upon the Province's Attorney General's Department and the Ontario Human Rights Commission to investigate the matter, to alleviate racial tension in Amherstburg and to increase equality of opportunity for the town's Negroes.

Faced with considerable public censure and pressure, the town's Council established a Mayor's Committee--including three members of Town Council and three members of SECAA--to investigate the problems of discrimination faced by local Negroes and to start an educational programme to increase harmony between the races.¹ The Committee has met successfully on a bi-monthly basis and reviewed the hiring practices of the town's largest employers, securing commitments from them of equality of hiring and equal employment opportunity. A number of the employers, within the last two months, offered Negro youths jobs which were unavailable prior to the efforts of SECAA. The Mayor's Committee is still meeting, and recently announced a new service organization for Negro and White youth.

Negroes in Windsor and in all of Essex and Kent Counties have undoubtedly been influenced by the American civil rights movement. But for whatever reason, it is clear that Negroes in this region have greatly contributed to improving human rights legislation, to the provision of educational opportunities and to a new and better understanding among Negroes and Whites in the area. Their contribution to the improvement of human relations came about because of a distinct need in their location and has not been equalled by the more affluent, diffuse and integrated Negro community of Toronto.

¹ Human Relations, Vol. 6, No. 12, December 1965, p. 12

The Settlement of Free Negroes on the Pacific Coast¹

Early in 1858 James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island needed labourers to construct barracks in the Colony. All suitable labour was engaged in the mines and only Indians, who were "a rather unruly force", were available for the task. He asked Captain Jeremiah Nagle, master of the ship Commodore, to extend an invitation to the coloured people of San Francisco to establish new homes in Victoria.

When the captain reached San Francisco he went with maps and charts to a coloured church and carried out the Governor's request, with the result that on April 20, 1858 an advance party of 65 Negroes left by ship for Victoria, and an eventual settlement of 300 or 400 Negro families was made on Vancouver Island and adjacent Salt Spring Island.

Negro voting power was feared, and a cry soon was raised that the issue was whether the Colony was "to be ruled by white men or niggers". By 1862 and 1863 anti-Negro feeling on Vancouver's Island was strong. There were efforts to segregate coloured people in public places such as churches, theatres and public bars. A Negro elected to the House of Assembly was tricked out of his seat. By 1865, with the triumph of the North in the American Civil War, an exodus of American Negroes and American whites to the United States began,² and with the departure of these elements outward indications of colour prejudice almost disappeared from Victoria.

In that space of seven or eight years the coloured people made distinct contributions to the economic life of the colony as merchants, bakers, miners, restaurant keepers, tradesmen and common labourers. Most of them had fled from vicious racial laws enacted in the State of California in the 1850s, but a few were from various islands of the British West Indies. As might be expected of near-descendants of slaves in a frontier town, some now and then were convicted of stabbing, theft and disturbance of the peace, but they were

¹ James William Pilton, Negro Settlement in British Columbia, 1848-1871. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia. September, 1951. Black and white photographs included.

² The whites had gone to Victoria for several reasons: some to work, some to escape conscription, and some to plot against the Union Government.

far outnumbered by honest, industrious and intelligent Negro citizens of the Colony.

One of the latter was Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, who, when he first arrived in Victoria, was already a wealthy businessman. He played an important part in the government of the city and organized a mining company which produced the first anthracite coal ever mined on Vancouver Island. He was the senior partner in a general merchandise store which was outranked in size only by the local post of the Hudson's Bay Company:

In 1862 he was nominated for a seat on the City Council of Victoria, but was defeated because colour prejudice at the time was strong. Nevertheless in 1868 he was elected to the same Council to represent the James Bay district of the city. He became chairman of its Finance Committee and "was loudly acclaimed whenever he made a public appearance."¹

In that year there was a proposal to unite British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada. It aroused much controversy and Gibbs, although he was an American, supported the advocates of union. When they formed a Confederation League he was named to its Executive Committee and was a delegate from Salt Spring Island to the Yale convention of all branches of the League held in August of that year.

In 1870 Gibbs returned to the United States. Of his subsequent career, A.J. Arnold writes:

In 1871 he entered a law firm in Little Rock, Arkansas, where he was a complete stranger. Before long he was admitted to the Bar and opened his own law office and within two years he was appointed a county attorney. Soon afterwards he ran for public office and was elected a municipal judge by the people of Little Rock, with the support of a white majority.

We don't know what the Arkansas history books say about Mifflin Gibbs, if anything. But he did record his own story in his autobiography entitled, "Shadow and Light."

Gibbs continued to win honor and distinction in his public career. In 1877 he was appointed registrar of U.S. lands in the Little Rock district and a little later he was named Receiver of Public Monies. In 1880

¹ Ibid., p. 109.

he was elected an Arkansas delegate to the National Republican convention.

The crowning achievement of his career came in October, 1897 when Judge Gibbs was named by Washington as the United States Consul to Madagascar.¹

Of the anti-Negro feeling, Pilton writes:

They were assured that their colour would never debar them from the same rights and privileges that the white colonists enjoyed. Then came the frenzy of the gold rush and the American invasion of the English community, bringing to the people of colour both wealth and isolation. As many of the new arrivals had come from the "cotton states" and had been educated to regard negroes as inferiors, it is not surprising that their views should be somewhat antagonistic towards Victoria's coloured colonists who were apparently enjoying the same privileges as everyone else, were the proprietors of flourishing businesses and the owners of a considerable amount of real estate which they sold at highly inflated prices to the newcomers.²

Undoubtedly the coloured people were to blame for much of the antagonism aroused against them for they tended to flaunt their newly acquired privileges before the race-conscious Americans. They condemned everything American and hated some Englishmen merely because they had lived in the United States. Forgetting that several millions of Americans were sympathetic to their cause they alienated many of their liberal minded neighbours by their indiscriminate denunciation. Perhaps it would be expecting them to be more than human to react otherwise after being delivered from so much oppression which they associated with everything connected with the Republic. One writer says that "As a result of their wealth and new position in society it was not surprising that some, formerly habituated to servitude or reproached as representatives of a barbarous race, should on being delivered from the yoke of social oppression, fail to show much consideration for the prejudices of the whites. Many British subjects sympathized with the ideas prevailing in the United States respecting the social status." There were also isolated incidents in the behaviour of certain of the negro residents which proved very distasteful to the whites, such as the shocking brutality of a coloured drayman, who, after driving his horse into the mud, is reported to have become so infuriated at being mired that he seized a cart-rung and beat the animal's brains out. While it is true that this was the action of but one individual, it was quite sufficient for some to believe that all coloured people were equally brutal, and for anti-negro sentiment to germinate.³

¹ A.J. Arnold, "The Negro Judge of Little Rock", in Montreal Star, April 21, 1962. Page 2 of the Entertainment Section.

² Pilton, op. cit., p. 177.

³ Ibid., pp. 181-2.



RESIDENCES OF 700 NEGRO FAMILIES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO



Source: Records, Railwaymen's Trade Union Council, 1957.
(including other non railroad families)

Information about more recent settlement of Negroes on the Pacific coast has been gathered by Professor Robin W. Winks of Yale University, but at the time of this writing he was unable to make it available to us.¹ The same is true of his material concerning Negro settlement in Amber Valley and Jenkins Corner, Alberta, and in Maidstone, Saskatchewan.

However, Professor Winks was able to lend us other valuable materials which have been drawn upon in our discussion of Maritime Negroes.

¹ The Montreal Star of May 17, 1960 carried a large picture of "Instructor Ed Phillips," a coloured young man, as part of a photo story about Canada's only school for helicopter pilots in Penticton, B.C.

Negro Settlement in Montreal

The Negroes of Toronto were described as comprising "old line" native Canadians, British West Indians, American newcomers and, in recent years, Nova Scotians. The Toronto coloured people are scattered and do not form a true community.

In 1961, 90 percent of the 4287 Negroes enumerated in the federal census of Quebec province were on Montreal island. As it happens, this is the only part of the Province for which information about coloured people is available. In Montreal no old line Negroes are known. There were slaves in the late eighteenth century, but they seem to have left no traceable issue in the city. Americans formed the first significant nucleus of coloured population about the terminals of the railways that employed most of them around 1910 and 1920. They were joined later by West Indians who remained in Montreal because of their British connexion. Many of these latter lived away from the 'Negro district'. The Americans eventually disappeared; many returned to the United States with the advent there of the New Deal. A thin dribble of Nova Scotians westward to Montreal grew into a considerable migration during and after World War II, forming a new significant element in the local population.

Nowadays six classes of Negro can be distinguished in that city. First, there are avowed Negroes who dwell in a rundown area that is predominantly white in population but is widely known as the 'Negro district'. Outside this area, in various places on and off the islands comprising the city, other avowed Negroes live who have gained a relatively satisfactory economic place. Some have remained in the traditional low-status occupations of sleeping-car porter, station porter, washroom attendant, garage mechanic.

Scattered among the core category and the dispersed category are new arrivals from Caribbean islands. Some of these are virtually penniless strangers whose only friends or relatives in the city are poor coloured people like themselves. Some arrive with marketable skills, but many do not. Some are dressed outlandishly, others in perfect taste. To be thrown among the sharks and barracudas of a great central city shocks them.

There is a fourth class in the general picture: an undetermined number of non-confessing coloured people whose homes are scattered through

various districts. They are in honoured occupations, and many of them marry white men and women.

Next are scores of students from different lands, many of whom have no connection with coloured people here. Some find housing accommodation in the 'Negro community'; some live in the rooming-house areas surrounding the two English universities. Some live far from the centre of the city. Some are relatively well-to-do; some are poor. They are in Montreal for periods ranging from several months to eight or ten years. In spite of an immigration regulation requiring West Indians to return home after completion of their studies, some manage to stay north indefinitely, perhaps through the application of another regulation which permits immigration officers to recognise cases of 'exceptional merit' for admission to the country. Negroes from French territories are very few and are scattered.

Added to these five distinct categories of Montreal coloured people are professional and amateur players in football, baseball and basketball leagues, imported from the United States by entrepreneurs who supply sport to the general public. These seem to be located outside the Negro community, and at least one has become a Canadian citizen.

The coloured population was estimated to be considerably more than 4500 in 1963,¹ which was part of a total metropolitan population of about two and a quarter millions. There is still a concentration of Negroes in a run-down area of the central city, part of which has been marked by civic authorities for immediate destruction and renewal.

In 1964 and 1965 thirteen organizations managed by Negroes and meeting needs peculiar to the West Indian part of the coloured population were studied. They included a community centre, social clubs, an association whose members were from one particular island, action-oriented civil rights groups, an athletic club, student associations and a church.

The activities of the various organizations were labeled in different ways, and Handelman attributes to them three ideologies: that of accommodation

¹ Don Handelman, West Indian Associations in Montreal. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University. April, 1964. Page 31.

(to the host community); that of activism, concerned with securing enjoyment of the civil rights of Negroes; and that of recreation. He claims that the ideologies tend to vary with social class, with place of origin and with recency of arrival in the city.¹

One organization not included in the study is the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, a branch of which was mentioned in our discussion of the associational life of Negroes in Toronto. The Preamble of its Constitution reads as follows:

The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League is a social, friendly humanitarian, charitable, educational, institutional, constructive and expansive society, and is founded by persons desiring to the utmost to work for the general uplift of the Negro peoples of the world. And the members pledge themselves to do all in their power to conserve the rights of their noble race and to respect the rights of all mankind, believing always in the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. The motto of the organization is "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!" Therefore, let justice be done to all mankind, realizing that if the strong oppresses the weak, confusion and discontent will ever mark the path of man but with love, faith and charity towards all the reign of peace and plenty will be heralded into the world and the generations of men shall be called Blessed.²

In its heyday this organization probably was more important even than the coloured church, although membership of the latter may have been the greater of the two. It was important because its leaders dealt with municipal and federal politicians and endeavoured to deliver a bloc of Negro votes at the polls on election days. In return, the politicians used their influence to open gainful employment to local Negroes or to spring a Negro out of jail, or to gain a Negro immigrant admission to Canada. A remarkable feature of the behaviour of politicians was their unfailing courtesy in dealing with the Negroes who, after all, represented a minute proportion of the city's voters and were of no social or economic consequence in Montreal or in Canada.

¹ Ibid., pp. 39 and 53.

² Constitution and By-Laws of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, August 1929 of the World, with amendments of 1938.

At its peak the U.N.I.A. may have had 200 dues-paying members in Montreal. When it organized its annual all-day summer picnic to Otterburn Park, east of the St. Lawrence river, several railway coaches were filled with happy Negroes. Its annual Moonlight Excursion down the St. Lawrence filled a chartered river steamer to capacity. A Negro jazz band played in the saloon, children ran about, couples danced, joked and sang, and punch flowed freely in the summer evening as water rippled by.¹

U.N.I.A. members were chiefly sleeping car porters, station porters (red caps), and wives of such men, and domestic servants. They met every Sunday afternoon. The programme was varied, but its highlight was a message from the President-General, Marcus Garvey (Aug. 17, 1887 - June 10, 1940). The message was carefully read from the front page of the Negro World, a weekly published by Garvey in New York, but now defunct. The reader's accent was strong, from a Jamaican or Barbadian lower class, and he stood facing the audience near a table at the front, where the chairman presided.

Garvey was a very dark, burly Jamaican 64 or 65 inches tall, perhaps even less. E. David Cronon quotes Garvey's own words in saying that Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery, which the Jamaican read in London, England, inspired him to become a race leader. He hastened back to Jamaica and on August 1, 1914, founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association there. On March 23, 1916 he arrived in Harlem, New York and by June 1919 he claimed to have established 30 branches of the U.N.I.A. in various cities, with a membership of two millions.²

He collected vast sums of money from branch organizations and used them to purchase three decrepit ships, the S.S. Yarmouth, the Shadyside and the Kanawha for the Black Star Line of Delaware, Inc. The first was sold

¹ There were other annual events with latency and integrative consequences for the social system of the coloured people: the Elks Ball, the Oddfellows' Dance, the New Year's Day Dance for young people at the Auditorium Ballroom, held in the afternoon; and the all-day summer picnic, with free transportation by truck, provided by the ward alderman of the day.

² E. David Cronon, Black Moses, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. pp. 16, 20, 44.

Victor G. Cohen, in an editorial on page 2 of Garvey's Voice, vol 1, no. 5, August 1963, gives the date of July 20, 1914 for the founding of the U.N.I.A., and says that Garvey landed in the United States on March 13, 1916.



Legend

- 1. All Negro (3 Churches)
- 2. Anglican
- 3. Baptist
- 4. Catholic
- 5. Presbyterian
- 6. Seventh Day Adventist
- 7. United
- 8. Miscellaneous

Source: City of Toronto, 1955

(after three trips) for less than one-hundredth of its original purchase price; the second sank in the Hudson River; the third was abandoned in the port of Antilla, Cuba. These ships cost the B.S.L. considerably more than \$360,000,¹ but recently the B.S.L. was referred to by the President General of the U.N.I.A. as "a ten million dollar concern".² Ownership was vested not in individuals, but "absolutely and exclusively" in the U.N.I.A.³

Undaunted by failure, Garvey proposed to buy a fourth ship, to be renamed the Phyllis Wheatley, but the purchase never came off. He had in mind a route linking North America with parts of the West African coast. The Black Star Line of Delaware failed and was succeeded by the Black Star Lines Navigation and Trading Company. The Negro Factories Corporation, which was a holding company of stores, restaurants, laundries, tailor shops, dress shops and millinery stores, also was established, "capitalized at one million dollars." The first Negro dolls were made by this corporation, Harvey says. He also mentions that farms were included as part of the U.N.I.A. enterprise.

A flag with red, black and green vertical panels was the movement's symbol, and the Ethiopian National Anthem glorified it. Its words were as follows:

Ethiopia, Thou land of our fathers!
 Thou land where the gods love to be.
 The storm cloud at night sudden gathers,
 Our armies come rushing to Thee.
 For us will the fight be victorious
 When led by the Red, Black and Green;
 For us will the victory be glorious
 When led by the Red, Black and Green.

Advance! Advance! to victory--
 Let Africa be free.
 Advance to meet the foe! (Advance)
 Advance to meet the foe! (Advance)
 With the might of the Red, the Black and
 the Green!

¹ Cronon, op. cit., chapter four, pp. 73-102.

² Thomas W. Harvey, President General of the U.N.I.A., "The U.N.I.A.", in Garvey's Voice, vol. 1, no. 5, August 1963, page 8.

³ Constitution and By-Laws . . . Article V, Section 11, page 16.

⁴ Harvey, op. cit.

The Anthem had a rousing tune with a military flavour, reminiscent of The International and La Marseillaise. There was a band of men and boys¹, and there were Sunday afternoon concerts with vocalists as well as band performances. At one time a man was appointed to teach young boys military drill.²

In American branches the Universal African Black Cross Nurses was formed, complete with caps. Garvey also created a Negro peerage, awarding titles of the English nobility to deserving men and women who worked in his Association. According to Article V Section 3 of the Constitution, there was to be an annual Court Reception in New York, but we have not discovered whether this ever was held.

Supported only by lower class Negroes, Garvey's achievements were bold, though mistaken, and have not been matched by any other Negro leader in America. The U.N.I.A. was the first and only Negro social movement international in scope: Garvey supporters were organized in Canada, the United States, Jamaica, Panama, Guatemala and Costa Rica.³

In Montreal the organization is still active. It now has a building of its own instead of rented quarters, and its members meet there every second Sunday afternoon. It probably never will recover its strength of the 1920s and 1930s. As one of its officers said recently, "In those days there was no T.V., no radio. And then we had the rum-runners, too. When they made money they spent it freely. There were frequent dances . . ."

Besides the Negro World, other publications with a local readership were the Chicago Defender, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Amsterdam News (New York) and the New York Age. A Montreal Negro published for a short time a four-page "Afro-Canadian weekly" called The Free Lance. The Racing Form was part of the reading fare of a fraction of the community.

¹ Constitution and By-Laws: General Laws--Article I, Section 57, Music, page 61.

² Ibid., Rules and Regulations for Universal African Legions of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L., Article I, Section 1, Name and Object, page 63.

³ Cronon, op. cit., p. 88.

Today Tan and Ebony have sufficient sales in Montreal to warrant their presence on a newstand. We have seen six other magazines aimed at Negro readers (Negro Digest, Bronze, etc.) on the same newstand. They all seem to have one publisher's address in Chicago.

Ebony is an obvious imitation of Life magazine, but the quality of its letters to the editor and of its other literary content is far below the level found in Life. Some of the newspapers have a painfully low quality of editing and reporting, probably reflecting the level of taste of readers who would be lost if the news pitch were higher. The unmistakable intent of all these publications is to create and maintain the morale of Negroes in a contemptuous and hostile white world.

The Racing Form had nothing to do with racial origin or skin colour, but was part of a culture complex rooted in the railway sleeping car. In the Negro population concentrated near the downtown railway stations in 1941, about half the 315 gainfully employed males were sleeping car porters. About 40 more men were employed as station porters (red caps) in the Windsor street station of the Canadian Pacific railway. (In four other railway stations of the city the porters were white.) About 80 per cent of the 104 gainfully employed females were domestic servants.¹

Although the ranks of the porters included university graduates and professionally trained men, most of them, particularly in the first quarter of the present century, had only slight formal schooling and had grown up in all-Negro communities from which they had been recruited by agents of the Pullman Company and of the Canadian railways. Their work brought them into contact with the sporting element of white society--with heavy drinkers and habitual gamblers, and with lovers of horse races and prize fights. They also served businessmen and their families of upper middle social rank. At that time, all these--the sporting type and the business type--used trains for travel rather than automobiles.

¹ Harold H. Potter, Occupational Adjustments of Montreal Negroes, 1941-1948. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University. April 1949. Page 29.

The result of this prolonged contact between servant and served was an aping of the drinking, smoking and sartorial habits of the served classes. It was combined with the argot of lower class American Negro communities and with a large amount of blunt humour, much of it against themselves.

So it happened that in a small part of the total coloured population there emerged a "Negro culture" in the 1920s derived largely from the white world: the poolroom, race horse, night club and prize ring were diversions; hard liquor and big cigars were consolations; gleaming tan shoes, spats, were modest status symbols. They wore good clothes, well pressed, and those who had long, frizzy hair fastened it to their skulls like a little cap, with Madame C.J. Walker's special pomade for Negroes. The names of Papyrus and Man-O-War meant more to them than Meighen, Harding, King or Poincaré.

Perhaps a unique feature of this culture, not derived from the white world, was the Chinese numbers game. It was played daily, with a runner and a banker collecting the marked slips and paying out money. A lucky man was one who "hit the Chinaman".

It was common for the Negroes to gently mock each other with derogatory terms of address or reference such as spook, spade, dinge, shade, shine, grey, darkie, nigger, Club Member, sunshine and sundown. Darkie, nigger, sunshine and sundown were terms borrowed from the white world. In more recent years the appearance of Negroes on television with the tendency of their skin to glisten under the studio lamps, has given rise to a new term, "glassy." For example, was the performer "white" or "glassy"?

A miniature economy also grew up around the railway employment and out of the Negroes' contacts with the world of horse racing, for many porters were domiciled in other cities and had to have a place to stay during their lay-over in Montreal. This need was met by the appearance of rooming houses, barber shops and one or two cafés. The Nemderoloc Club ("colored men" spelled backward) thrived, and the Porters' Mutual Benefit Association provided rooms and recreation space on Mountain street.

When races were held at King's Park, or at Mount Royal or Blue Bonnets, on the outskirts of the city, the attendants in the car parks were all coloured



boys and men, wearing white caps and white jackets and working for tips of unspecified amounts. If a driver happened to be frugal, mean, blind or heartless, there was no tip; and the attendant complained to his companion "he stiffed me".

There were Negro bellhops in at least one hotel, their wages in the 1930s being about \$12.50 per month, plus one or two meals a day. The wages of white waiters in the same hotel were \$12.50 per month, plus one or two meals a day, depending on whether one worked a ten-hour shift split in two, or one shift of six consecutive hours.

At a time when other transport companies had their capital tied up in horses and carts, two Negroes started a cartage business with trucks. In the space of a few years in the early 1920s trucks replaced horses, but for some reason unknown to us the Negro trucking business failed. Other Negro businesses also started and failed.

All these things took place within such narrow social and geographic confines that it was possible for most white Montrealers to be completely unaware of the Negro community and of the coloured people who lived outside it.

To many readers this will appear to be a description of life at the bottom of the social heap, but few of the older Montreal Negroes perceived themselves in exactly this way. Coming from backgrounds where their social and material advantages could not compare favourably with what they enjoyed in Montreal, they fancied themselves to be as good as anybody else in the city, especially because, from their place in the economic and social arrangements of the metropolis, they viewed the Chinese laundryman, the Irish, Czech and Italian laborers and the Jewish immigrant storekeeper as creatures less than they, and they conveniently overlooked comparison of themselves with the middle and upper classes of the larger community. The Canadian-born generation that followed them, however, attended public schools and had no illusions about their social rank. Some, indeed, regarded members of the Negro community as bums.

Nevertheless it was true as late as the 1940s that if a Canadian porter achieved security in his job he became part of a powerful and relatively



stable industry, which fact gave him a better chance than all other Negroes, except those in recognized professions, of purchasing a home, buying on the instalment plan, or renting a house.

The role of sleeping car porter was for two or three generations the monopoly of Negroes. In the 1950s, after their union had secured better wages for its members, white men entered this employment. It has ceased to be a dead-end job, and it is now possible for a porter of any colour to rise to a post higher on the job scale either on the trains or in offices. It was also in the 1950s that railway management decided passenger service is an uneconomical operation--a fact evident to the naked eye if one has travelled on the transcontinental trains. In 1962 A. Philip Randolph publicly declared that porters faced a crisis as a result of automation and giant mergers in the railway industry.¹ The convention he addressed later proposed bargaining for a 40-hour work week without reduction in wages in order to create one thousand new jobs.²

Research into this occupation should reveal how the porters were organized; what their working days and their clientele were like; the amounts of their wages and tips, measured against house rents and cost of commodities at the time; the trend of wage increases and the winning of fringe benefits from their corporate employers.³

The station porter's history also is worth investigating. In the early part of this century he worked for no wages, depending on the generosity of the individuals he served. It was common for such men to carry bags, suitcases and all kinds of other luggage for two or three city blocks for a tip of ten cents. Yet they considered themselves lucky: they had a steady job. Eventually the porters, named red caps after the colour of their headgear, were recognized as wage employees and were admitted to pension benefits of the company and other advantages.

¹ Montreal Star, September 11, 1962. News report of the Fourth Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

² Ibid., Sept. 14, 1962.

³ The Montreal Star of Oct. 22, 1965 carried a complaint from A.R. Blanchette, international field representative for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that the September 7 cutback on The Dominion (train) had put 168 porters out of work.

Article 7 of the Rules Governing the Service of Red Caps at Windsor Station, Montreal, and Palais Station, Quebec, provided that rates of pay at Montreal's Windsor Station, effective November 1, 1945, would be \$42.50 per month (basic) for Captains and \$17.50 per month (basic) for Red Caps. There were difficulties in getting organized, too.

Like the sleeping car porters, these employees are now threatened by the downward trend of passenger service. In January 1966 it was reported that eleven of them, some with 15 to 20 years of service, and some with large families, had been discharged after the cancellation of passenger train service to Toronto.¹

Why Negroes were employed in one station out of five in the city is a mystery.

In the 1920s and 1930s the highest occupational aspiration expressed by local leaders was to secure for Negroes jobs in the police and fire departments. They were not concerned with being bank tellers, store clerks, engineers. Their preoccupation with civic employment may have reflected the aspirations of Negroes in various cities of the United States; but there seems to have been a presumption on their part that posts in civic departments should be awarded them in recognition of their presence in the community or perhaps as a reward for their votes in municipal elections. This aspiration probably seemed easier to fulfill than to qualify as a lawyer or medical doctor, for in the latter cases everything depended on the resources, stamina and perseverance of the individual aspirant or his children, thrown into impersonal competition with others; and the existence of a group of coloured people could mean little in such cases, even as a prospective clientele for an accredited professional man or woman. In the former cases, on the other hand, the slash and thrust of direct competition were almost entirely removed.

There was, finally, the conviction that a civil servant would never be separated from his employment against his will. Because satisfactory employment was so hard to find and so much a matter of luck rather than a claim, job security was vitally important to them.

¹ Bruce Taylor, "Montreal Days and Nights", in the Montreal Star, January 21, 1966. Page 4.

On the female side, Negroes aspired to be stenographers and also to be school teachers and registered nurses, in two professions which are now more accessible to them than they were in the 1920s and 1930s.

Some members of the community could not imagine finding a satisfactory place in Canada and hoped instead to migrate to Africa. The ideology of the U.N.I.A. may have been a factor that inspired or encouraged this hope, which of course also was a response to the Negroes' experience of white contempt and hostility and their experience of social discrimination in the leasing of dwellings and in gainful employment.

Apart from Marcus Garvey, the idols of the community were chiefly American prize fighters and entertainers: sprinters Ralph Metcalfe and Jesse Owens; Jack Johnson, Harry Wills and two or three other pugilists not American in origin, whose names escape us at the moment. There were Bert Williams, Florence Mills, Josephine Baker and Marion Anderson, singers of different kinds, as were Roland Hayes and Paul Robeson. Then there were Duke Ellington, Count Basie, the Ink Spots, the Fiske Jubilee Singers, the Southernaires and others; Fletcher Henderson, Fats Waller and Teddy Wilson--heroes all; but except for Langston Hughes and James Weldon Johnson and the eighteenth century Phyllis Wheatley, the heroes of older people did not include authors, scientists and distinguished academic persons. The picture has undoubtedly changed radically since the '20s and '30s, but the factual evidence of change has not been collected for this region.

Having said all this, it must be emphasized that there was an unknown number of coloured people living outside the "Negro district", who had attitudes, aspirations and models quite different from those described above. Even in the district, wage earners pursued about eighty different occupations involving varying degrees of skill, through artisan and clerical employments to semiskilled and unskilled jobs. In addition, there were Negroes employed in professional and junior executive capacities.

Negro immigrants at the turn of the century were employed as cigarmakers and bellhops. Coloured women found employment as various kinds of domestic servant and in the '30s worked in garment factories. In the 1960s there are Negro university professors, schoolteachers, medical doctors



and business executives earning respectable salaries, coloured women are school teachers and registered nurses,¹ and there is at least one dentist and at least one lawyer.

In this account of Negro settlement in Montreal we have deliberately overlooked the Union Congregational Church and the Negro Community Centre, two institutions which unfailingly are given the attention of students of Negro life.² More than the U.N.I.A., the Church and the Centre provide important and durable links between the coloured population and its host community. Other organizations have been studied by Handelman;³ and the Open Door Society, composed of white couples who have legally adopted children of mixed racial origin, has been studied by Ethel Roskies.⁴

The account should not be closed without mention of the extremely important role of assimilating agent played by church congregations and neighbourhood social service centres and by elementary and high schools in all parts of the city. In this connection the First Church of Christ, Scientist and the Baha'i movement must not be overlooked. The Vacation (summer) Schools of churches near the St. Antoine district, with their devoted staffs, deserve to be mentioned, as well as the programmes of the Young Men's Christian Association, Laurentian camping included. The Young Women's Christian Association discouraged Negro participation in its programme until the early 1940s, and then found it had a problem on its hands as Negro membership of a club tended to drive out white membership.

Service in the Canadian armed forces also was a highly important factor in assimilating Negroes into the white world. This socializing function of the armed services is noticeable wherever large populations of underprivileged people are recruited into military organizations administered by others. It can be observed in Mexico and the United States, probably was true of India before 1947, and probably is true of African armies today. During

¹ In June, 1964 Mlle Bernadette Cadet was graduated from an Air Canada course for airline stewardesses. She arrived in Canada from Haiti in 1960. Source of information, Henry J. Langdon, "Canada's First Tan Airline Stewardess Aims to Excell", in The Afro-American, December 5, 1964. Page 20. Black and white photographs.

² See Don Handelman, op. cit., pages 69-71; Stanley G. Matthews, "Negroes Serve Wide Parish", in Montreal Star, February 10, 1951; Harold H. Potter, op. cit., page 11.

³ Don Handelman, op. cit.

⁴ See list of References.

World War II all Canadian ethnic groups experienced in varying degrees such assimilation into military life; but some of the French resisted more than others. Besides the organization's concern with various kinds of technical proficiency, there was an active concern of the military with developing pride in one's company, battalion, regiment, brigade, ship or squadron; a concern with instilling loyalty to one's buddies and to the Crown; a concern with developing great courage and with inspiring unquestioning obedience to persons of authority. Such aims are realized by fostering life in small groups.

It is very important to record that the civilian benefits granted to veterans of the armed services after the cessation of hostilities--extended university training at little expense, grants of land, loans for houses--helped Negroes as well as whites to rise to positions in postwar Canada which otherwise most of them would never have attained.

By contrast with the military, churches and primary schools formed a sort of conscience industry: their main concern was to inculcate standards of truth and honesty, fear of God and love of the Crown. More important than teaching the individual techniques for getting on in the world was teaching him principles of honesty, uprightness, fair play and dependability--, principles which would govern even his solitary behaviour.

Along with others, Negroes learned all these things in varying degrees. In fact they sometimes use their lessons, as Clarke and Lamming did, to lacerate the conscience of white people

At one time an Interracial Club existed in the city. Its programme included tea in the home of each member in turn. The interesting feature of this Club was that its white members were not the social equals of coloured members, but very much above them in family income, level of education and residential location. The programme and length of life of the Club are not known.

Today the associational life of Montreal Negroes is varied, as it always has been, and we do not propose to take an inventory of it; for the inventory would be meaningless without details of the membership and activities of each organization. Enough has been said to give the reader a firm idea of how the community became established.

6. The Present Day

A Trend of Legislation

For a full generation Negroes have benefited from enactments of municipalities, provinces and the federal Parliament, which do not refer to them in particular but are intended for the assurance and protection of Canadians in general. It is worth while to note some of this legislation specifically.

The Unemployment Insurance Acts of 1940 and 1955 as later amended give employees financial protection against involuntary unemployment. In Quebec province in 1943 a Compulsory Education Act abolished school fees and provided free textbooks to pupils. The Family Allowances Act of 1944 provides for monthly federal payments to the mothers of all children under the age of sixteen years born in Canada or resident in Canada for at least one year, and attending school as required by the laws of the province in which they reside and are maintained by the parents. The National Housing Acts of 1944 and 1954 as later amended were designed to encourage the construction of dwellings for sale or rent, and recently they have been made to provide sanctions against builders who discriminate socially against prospective buyers. The Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act in April 1957 made federal grants-in-aid available to the provinces to assist them in operating publicly administered insurance plans for general hospital care. By 1961 all ten provinces had entered the scheme.

In less than ten years seven provinces and the Government of Canada enacted laws that require employers to pay women the same wages they pay men for comparable work. Similarly, Acts prohibiting discrimination in gainful employment, in trade union membership and in public accommodation (such as hotels, restaurants, barber shops and theatres) on grounds of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin have been put in effect by federal authorities and by six of the ten provincial governments. Ontario had a Racial Discrimination Act in 1944, and Saskatchewan had a Bill of Rights Act in 1947. These were followed in later years by more specific legislation

concerning discrimination in employment and in public accommodation. Racial covenants in real estate transactions were outlawed in Ontario and Manitoba in 1950.

In 1948 the British Columbia franchise was extended to Canadians of East Indian and Chinese origins. (In fact, for a few years recently a Chinese Canadian war veteran sat as Conservative Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre.) Also, in 1948, clauses in the Federal Elections Act that discriminated against the same classes of Canadian in British Columbia were removed. In July 1960 Canadian Indians were granted the right to vote without having to surrender their various treaty rights. In August 1960 a Canadian Bill of Rights went into effect which lists certain "human rights and fundamental freedoms" which "shall continue to exist without discrimination by reasons of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex".

In 1961 the Quebec Legislature passed a law to provide to Quebec mothers ten dollars per month for ten months of each year, not taxable, for each student aged 16 or 17 years. This is to encourage parents to keep their children in school longer than they used to do.

Terms of the Fair Accommodation Practices Act of Ontario were extended in May 1961 to include the rental of premises in buildings with more than six apartment units.¹ In 1962 employment, housing and public accommodation statutes were combined and became part of the Ontario Human Rights Code.

In 1963 the Nova Scotia Legislature enacted a Human Rights Act which

consolidates and extends provisions of three principal anti-discrimination laws--the Fair Employment Practices Act, the Equal Pay Act and the Fair Accommodation Practices Act--Prohibiting discrimination because of race, religion, religious creed, colour or ethnic or national origin

- for admission to and enjoyment of the accommodation, services and facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted

- in the occupancy or term of occupancy of any apartment in any building that contains more than four self-contained dwelling units

¹ Amended in 1965 to exempt only buildings with three apartment units or fewer.

- in employment
- by employment agencies
- in trade unions

Ensuring that women who do the same job as men in the same establishment receive the same wage rate.¹

In September 1964 there came into effect in Quebec province legislation which outlaws "any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, national extraction or social origin, which have the effect of nullifying or impairing the equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation; . . ."²

In 1965 the Yukon Territory, populated largely by Eskimo and Indians, came under human rights legislation covering gainful employment and public accommodation. A total of nine jurisdictions (eight provinces) was then covered by legislation of this kind.

At the time of this writing the Government of Alberta had just passed the Alberta Human Rights Code, which prohibits social discrimination in offering gainful employment and in public accommodation, but does not include residential accommodation in its provisions.

It seems clear from the foregoing paragraphs that improvements in the position of the Canadian Negro can be properly understood only with reference to improvements in the well-being of the whole nation. The financial difficulties of raising children have been eased for him as well as for others, and the same is true of worries about involuntary unemployment and hospital care. These facts can be expected to produce a favourable result generally in the economic, educational and mental condition of future Canadian Negroes.

Canadian Mass Communications and Negroes

Before this discussion is concluded it should be pointed out that in radio broadcasts, in telecasts and in newspapers and magazines an extraordinary amount of time and space has been devoted to this minute, non-

¹ Human Equality (Nova Scotia Human Rights Act), Department of Labour, Province of Nova Scotia. No date.

² Quoted by Gerald W.F. Charness, B.A., B.C.L., in "Racial Discrimination in Employment: Canada's First Case", in Expression, vol. 1, no. 4, January 1966, pp. 26-34.

strategic fraction of the Canadian population. Although we have not attempted to measure the graphic and literary treatment of Negroes in Canadian communications, it seems safe to say that they are kept more frequently and intensely before the public eye than the Eskimo, the Canadian Indians, or any of the various oriental groups. Large paid advertisements in an English-language newspaper of Montreal have given conspicuous places to non-white faces.¹ Feature articles and photo stories dealing with Negroes in one Montreal newspaper alone are too numerous to discuss. The Gazette, in Montreal devoted an entire large page to an article on local Negroes.² Toronto newspapers also have given much space over the years to sympathetic reporting of the life of Negroes.

A further illustration of our point is the following list of Canadian telecasts in the Montreal region in a two-day period chosen at random, dealing with the subject of coloured people or featuring coloured artists:

Sat., 17 Nov. 62, 10:15 p.m., Channel 12 (Mtl), Naked City: Diahann

Carroll plays a dramatic role in A Horse Has a Big Head, Let Him Worry.

Sun., 18 Nov. 62, 2:00 p.m., Channel 12, Forum: Geoffrey Tenneson chairs racial discussion, Black and White (in Africa). Two of the discussants were coloured.

Sun., 18 Nov. 62, 2:30 p.m., Channel 12, A panel interview between three high school students and the Honorable Earle Maynier, Jamaican High Commissioner to Canada.

Sun., 18 Nov. 62, 10:30 p.m., Channels 8(C), 12, Brinkley's Journal: A Look at Race Relations in England (Birmingham and Hyde Park, London)

Sun., 18 Nov. 62, 10:30 p.m., Channels 5(Q), 6, Quest: Black and White, a discussion between coloured and white musicians dealing with anti-

¹ For example, in the Montreal Star, November 6, 1962, a department store's advertisement of dolls in Toyville. Ibid., October 17, 1964, a department store's advertisement of costume jewelry. Ibid., December 31, 1964, a supermarket's advertisement of the United Nation's International Co-operation Year--1965. And ibid., October 8, 1965, a supermarket's Thanksgiving Message.

² The Gazette, Saturday, July 17, 1965, p. 29.

white prejudice in the jazz-playing world.

This extensive featuring of Negroes in the media of mass communications is not organized, systematic and repetitive, as would be the case in systematic propaganda or in commercial advertising, but it may have an impact of some kind on millions of readers and viewers. We have never heard whether the public served by these media tends to react positively or negatively to what it has been offered through the past fifteen years or more.

We should mention also the publics reached by the Department of Labour, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the United Church of Canada, the Church of England in Canada, and the Canadian Labour Congress, all of which have steadily concerned themselves with published discussions of employment and civic rights.

There also is a type of communication that is not at the popular level, and here we note that between 1920 and 1958 professional historians and students inclined to social work wrote at least thirty-four articles and theses for higher degrees on the subject of Canadian Negroes.¹ However in a couple of more ambitious descriptions of Canadians there is no mention of coloured people at all: namely, in J.M. Gibbon's Canadian Mosaic, published in 1938; and in Canadian Society, edited by Bernard Blishen and others and first published in 1961. B K. Sandwell's The Canadian Peoples, published in 1941 and 1947, mentions discrimination against Jews and Negroes in one line.

Since 1958 there have been the reports by Helling and by Henry concerning Negroes in the southwest of Ontario,² and perhaps there are other theses and reports we have not heard about.

¹ Citizenship, Immigration, and Ethnic Groups in Canada: a Bibliography of Research, Published and Unpublished Sources, 1920-1958 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Economic and Social Research Branch, Ottawa, 1960), pp. 81-6.

² Rudolph A. Helling, The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario: a report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. December 1965.

Franklin J. Henry, Perception of Discrimination Among Negroes and Japanese-Canadians in Hamilton: a report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. November 1965.

7. Attitudes and Aspirations

The various categories of Negro in Canada--those of West Indian origin, those of United States origin, and those who are Canadian-born--have distinctive attitudes, but it is extremely difficult to make satisfactory observations about them, for there are endless things to have attitudes about: for example, what are the attitudes of Negro women to white women and white men? What are the attitudes of Negro men to white women? What are the attitudes of Negroes to the programs of the national political parties? What are the attitudes of Negroes to other Negroes and to themselves? What are their attitudes to various kinds of gainful employment? What is their conception of a worthwhile education?

We could go on to include tastes in foods, houses, music, and so on. The answers to such questions would be affected by the geographic location of the respondent, by his (her) marital status, level of formal education and experience of family life, as well as by his family's position in the social class structure of the community.

One can only vaguely refer to differences in styles of life. Such differences were more evident 30 or 40 years ago than they are now. In the 1920's it was easy to believe that most American Negroes in Canadian cities were happy-go-lucky people; West Indians were self-respecting and aggressive; the Canadian-born were "clueless" and apathetic--an impression now supported by the record of inferior formal schooling in southwestern Ontario and in Nova Scotia, which has been presented in Part 5 of this paper.¹

There were in the '20s and '30s many American households in Montreal characterized by childless and lavish living. It was the American who provided the stereotype of the well-dressed, happy-go-lucky Negro with an appreciation of the "better" things of life such as liquor, horses, clothes and attractive women. One respondent in the '40s said: 'I could always tell an American;

¹ But a new day has dawned. It was reported in November 1965 that 17 Nova Scotia Negroes had been graduated from universities in the previous decade. Source: News Bulletin, Adult Education Division, Lucasville Road Office, Lower Sackville, Halifax County, N.S. November, vol. 5, no. 5.

he'd give me a nickel without my asking for it.' She went on to describe how, as a little girl, she often visited an older woman whose home seemed to be constantly filled with American men. The woman was always laughing; the men were always playing cards, smoking, talking, drinking; and she was always welcome. She described the older woman as a marvellous person.

The average coloured person of American origin at that time came from a big city where he had acquired a veneer of sophistication from long contact with limited aspects of the style of life of white people who were his social superiors. He did not recognize social class differences among Negroes, but was supremely conscious of race differences, sometimes to the point of paranoia.

Every West Indian, on the other hand, came from a small island with a non-white majority in its population. These facts made his outlook on life quite different from that of an American. Until the present generation the concern of dwellers on the islands was not with racial difference but with social class and the extended family. In his relations with metropolitan white people in Canada the West Indian was more self-assured than an American or Canadian Negro. He did not absorb insults without protest.

However, in some Caribbean islands since 1945 or 1950 race consciousness has been aroused in the course of heightened competition between Negroes and other coloured groups for positions of power and prestige.

Canadian-born Negroes of the present generation tend to be more individualistic, more self-regarding than West Indians and Americans. This tendency reflects their consciousness of opportunities for economic and social advancement in the most active parts of the country and their readiness to meet standards laid down by whites.

The aspirations of Negroes in Canada also have been a subject proposed for study. It is harder to discuss them than to discuss attitudes because the aspirations of an ambitious person change two, three or four times before he decides to rest "on his laurels". Aspirations are constantly redefined until a point is reached where current satisfactions outweigh the

effort needed to gain future satisfactions.

"Where wealth and freedom reign contentment fails", wrote Goldsmith two centuries ago.

Although it sounds trite, the slogan volunteered to us by Negro respondents of different ages on various occasions has been, "Be a Canadian." The respondents were uninterested in being "Negroes". To be a Canadian means to have opportunities to give your best to the community in which you live and to your employers, and to be given, in return, respect as a human being and the means for a satisfactory family life. In the normal case, aspirations reflect the opportunities perceived by the aspirant. No sensible coloured person would aspire today to be a Prime Minister of Canada; but in that future time when skin colour will be no more socially significant than hair colour, some dark-skinned man or woman may plan to achieve the highest political office in the land, limited only by his other natural endowments and by strokes of fortune.

Conclusion

The foregoing has been a brief account of more than three centuries of Negro settlement in Canada, beginning with their appearance as slaves in Quebec, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Cape Breton Island, and Nova Scotia. Others appeared as refugees from slavery responding to tolerant and humane attitudes of Canadian authorities, or to a declared need for workers in cities or for settlers on agricultural land. Still others were free men and women who came to Canada from the United States and from Caribbean islands in search of satisfactory employment. They also sought escape from persecution and contempt, and hoped to enjoy liberty of movement and of association. In general, like all others who have come to Canada from other parts of the world, they expected a better life than they had previously known. Many have been disappointed, but many others have had their careers crowned with success or have seen their children in good jobs and decent homes, with the same ulcers and cardiac palpitations as white people.

It has also been shown that for many generations it has been possible to arouse and organize anti-Negro feeling among some white Canadians, and that the fomenters of fear, hatred, distrust and contempt of Negroes (and other people) are frequently highly placed in governments. Since 1945, however, for reasons which are not clear at present, new federal and provincial legislation has promised to guard the dignity of coloured residents in Canada.

Our sources of information for all these things are varied, including the work of professional historians, the work of graduate students and of professional sociologists, newspaper reports, magazine articles, personal interviews, Hansard and other government publications. Just the same, we hasten to say that the paper is incomplete and suffers from being only a brief survey.

A recent issue of the Soviet Union Today carried an article which presented readers with a model of a university professor. The model was a famous and beloved scholar lecturing to a rapt audience on a subject known

to all since childhood, Aleksandr Pushkin.¹

On April 27, 1966 a new luxury passenger vessel, the Aleksandr Pushkin, arrived in Montreal from Leningrad, inaugurating the first regular passenger liner service between North America and the U.S.S.R. since the Revolution of 1917.

By United States definitions, Aleksandr Pushkin was a coloured man. He is acknowledged by Russians to be their greatest poet.

Also coloured were Alexandre Dumas of France and his son of the same names, whose novels, translated into several languages, have delighted millions of readers and have been adapted to the opera (Verdi's La Traviata) and to motion pictures as well (Camille; The Three Musketeers). "Brazil's greatest novelist" was Machado de Assis, who was born in 1839 in a slum, the son of a mulatto house-painter and a Portuguese woman, and ultimately became President of the Brazilian Academy.

Have Canadian Negroes produced prodigies such as Pushkin and Dumas and de Assis? They have not. Neither have the Canadian English produced a Newton. The French have not produced a Molière or Lavoisier, nor the Italians a Verdi, nor the Belgians a Rubens, nor the Germans a Wagner. The complex explanations of these facts we leave to others.

In any case, it would be obviously incorrect to credit the works of Pushkin and de Assis and the Dumases to groups of Negroes who supposedly nourished them. It would be equally wrong to assume that the achievement of isolated Canadian Negroes are the products of life in Negro groups outside their families, or, conversely, that coarse tastes and low aspirations are the result of life in Negro groups as such. The three case histories with which this paper started suggest the diverse sources of an individual's development in modern society and the diverse peoples who may benefit from the contributions he (she) makes to society.

From those meagre biographical notes we infer that an individual today is not likely to be exactly a product of a racial or ethnic group, but more exactly a product of his small family and of peer groups in school and at university and at work. The decisive formation of the person is by his

¹ Anatoly Makarov, "Here Comes the Professor", in Soviet Union Today, September 1965.

associates in corporations such as universities and manufacturing firms and by his work in specialized libraries and modern laboratories. His ideas, values, attitudes come from professional groups of pharmacists, chemists, engineers, educationists, musicians, rather than from people whose main qualification is membership of an ethnic category.

In the modern world, at the higher occupational levels, contributions to others are not governed by ethnic considerations but go first to one's profession and hence to the world at large. Such contributions add to the quality of life in various ways in the form of discoveries, technical innovations, fresh theories; but it must be admitted that in many cases they are really capital, not included in the common conception of a contribution to culture. It is usually assumed that literary, graphic, plastic or musical products which give aesthetic or intellectual pleasure constitute culture. This assumption frequently overlooks the cultures of the underworld, each with its peculiar idioms, sets of belief and standards of behaviour and pleasure.

There is not a Negro culture, and there is not a Canadian culture to which Negroes make a contribution. There are many cultures, distinguished from each other by characteristics of social class, occupation, geographic location, religious affiliation and ethnic descent--perhaps even by the age composition of the culture groups. All draw inspiration from the whole world and, if any of their members are outstanding, they in turn give capital or pleasure to the whole world. To paraphrase Antoine de Saint Exupéry, each Canadian carries a stone towards building the invisible structure.

But at some point in his life every Canadian coloured man of the generations till now has debated the issue so marvellously expressed by Shakespeare:

To be, or not to be--that is the question;
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them? To die, to sleep--
No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to. 'Tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd

. There's the respect
 That makes calamity of so long life;
 For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
 Th' oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
 The pangs of despis'd love, the laws delay,
 The insolence of office, and the spurns
 That patient merit of th' unworthy takes,
 When he himself might his quietus make
 With a bare bodkin? Who would these fardels bear,
 To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
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